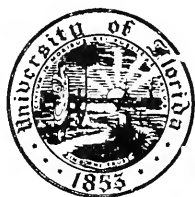


University of Florida Libraries



The Gift of

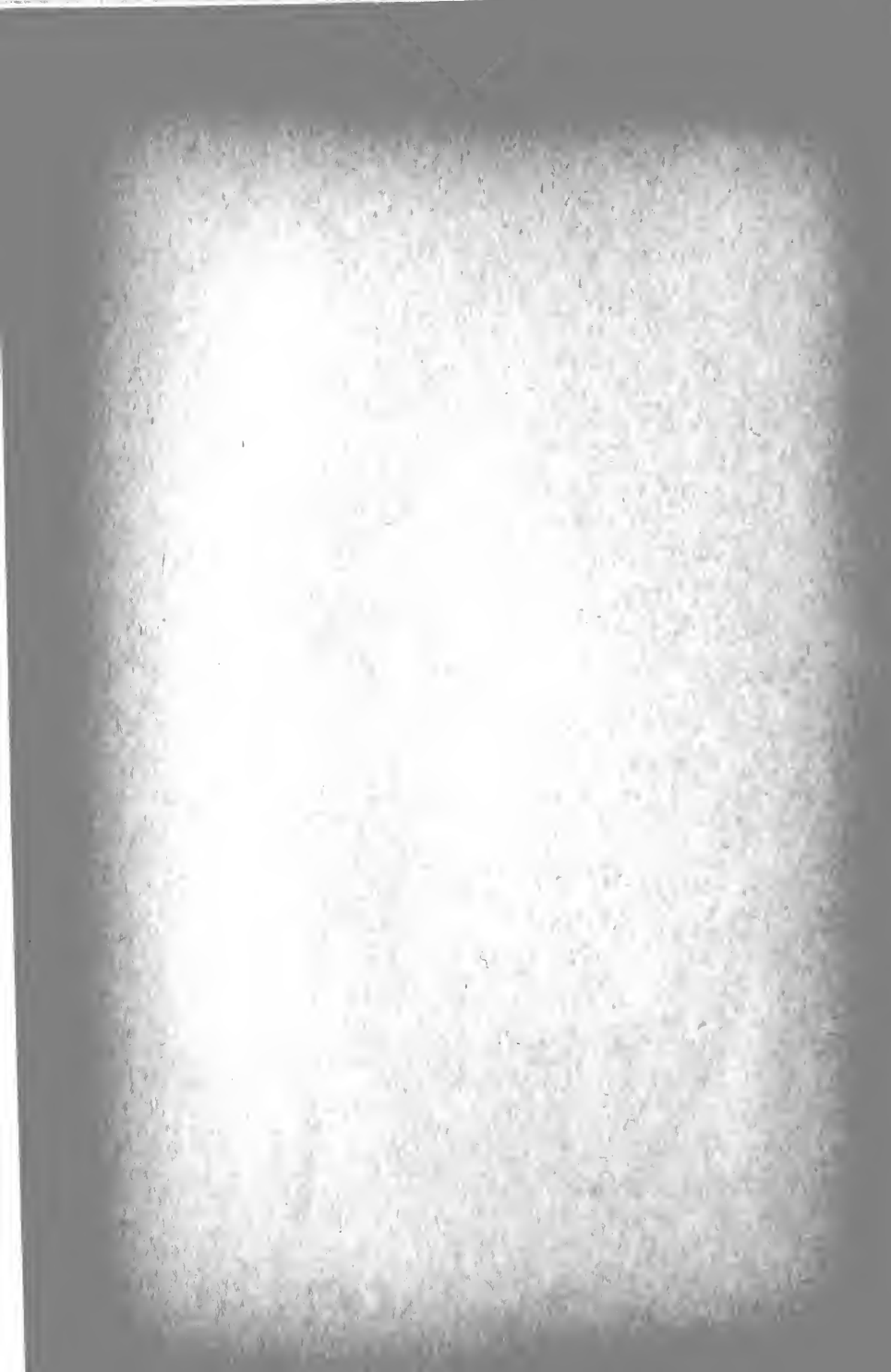
Orrin L. Keener

COLLEGE LIBRARY



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2011 with funding from
LYRASIS Members and Sloan Foundation

STRUGGLE
FOR
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY



STRUGGLE
FOR
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

*Dirt Farmers
and the
American Country Life Association*

BY
ORRIN L. KEENER

VANTAGE PRESS NEW YORK WASHINGTON HOLLYWOOD

FIRST EDITION

*All rights reserved, including the right of
reproduction in whole or in part in any form*

Copyright, 1961, by Orrin L. Keener

Published by Vantage Press, Inc.
120 West 31st Street, New York 1, N.Y.

Manufactured in the United States of America

To all community-minded dirt farmers who, like my parents, put the character and education of the next generation first in their scale of values.

PREFACE

This is an interpretive study tracing some of the earlier phases of our farmers' long struggle for the good life. It points up some of the obstacles that had to be overcome, such as lack of social esteem in a society whose leaders despised manual labor, and the difficulty of getting a fair deal from politicians who served the better-organized commercial and financial interests of the nation. There was the generations-old struggle to get institutions that would educate farm youth without unfitting them for farm life. There were spirit-killing debts caused by high interest rates and land speculation. Farm women's part in this struggle, often overlooked, is herein given some attention.

The thought and values of rural people are resources that have contributed much to the strength of our nation, but, like the resources of fertile soil and virgin forest, they have been depleted at an alarming rate. There seems to be something about close contact with nature and the generous Creator of all harvests that helps counteract godless materialism and the worship of man-made things. The permanency of any civilization seems to depend upon maintaining this relationship.

In a world bursting with population and rumbling with revolution, Liberty H. Bailey's idea of widespread land-ownership as a bulwark of stable government commends itself to thoughtful men. Has there been a single Communist revolution that has not been powered by little farmers' hopes for the good life of landownership, economic independence, and better educational opportunities for their children?

Perhaps a better understanding of the driving motives of our own dirt farmers' historical struggle may contribute some insight into the aspirations of other dirt farmers in their quest for a life that is more abundant.

O. L. K.

CONTENTS

Preface

1	Beginnings and Objectives of the American Country Life Association	9
2	European Background and American Beginnings	19
3	New and Improved Institutions, 1807-1832	39
4	A New Leadership Develops: 1833-1852	64
5	Andrew Jackson Downing—Leader of Leaders	87
6	Perisistent Rural Problems: 1833-1852	97
7	Education for Rural Life	126
8	The Pre-Civil War Decade: 1852-1861 Agriculturists Unite and Divide	140
9	From the Civil War to the Organization of the American Country Life Association	185
	Notes	219

**STRUGGLE
FOR
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY**

Chapter 1

BEGINNINGS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION

In August, 1908, Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States, appointed a Commission on Country Life. His letter of appointment, addressed to Liberty H. Bailey, the chairman of the commission, began with these words: "No nation has ever achieved permanent greatness unless this greatness was based on the well-being of the great farmer class, the men who live on the soil; for it is upon their welfare, material and moral, that the welfare of the rest of the nation ultimately rests."

If history has taught one lesson, Roosevelt asserted, it is that the welfare of the country population is basic: no growth of cities or increase in wealth can make up for loss in either number or character of the farm population; for the country produces not only food and raw material but half the children of the nation. Interest and effort to improve rural conditions had in the past, he thought, been confined almost exclusively to better agricultural methods, a good place to begin; but such efforts should now be accompanied by efforts to get better business methods and better living, so that the farmer might get the largest possible returns in cash, comfort, and social advantages from his labor and life on the farm. "Agriculture is not the whole of rural life," he continued. "The great rural interests are human interests, and good crops are of little value unless they open the door to a good kind of life on the farm." How, he inquired, can farm

life be made "less solitary, fuller of opportunity, freer from drudgery, more comfortable, happier, and more attractive?"¹

The Roosevelt commission of exploration and investigation, with Bailey as chairman and Kenyon L. Butterfield as secretary, by means of correspondence and of hearings held in different parts of the country, took the pulse of rural life. According to their report, made early in 1909, they found the general condition of country life as good as that of any earlier period, but they concluded that agriculture was not as profitable as it was entitled to be considering the labor and risks involved; also, the social conditions of the open country were "far short of their possibilities."² In his business the farmer was handicapped by lack of capital and the small value of his transactions, and he stood "practically alone against organized interests." The great changes that had come in manufacturing and commerce had resulted in inequalities and discriminations from which the unorganized farmers suffered.

"The main single deficiency" in rural life, according to the findings of the commission, was the lack of the right kind of education. "Everywhere there is demand that education have relation to living, that the schools should express the daily life, and that in rural districts they should educate by means of agriculture and country-life subjects." The schools were held to be chiefly responsible for "ineffective farming, lack of ideals, and the drift to town."³ The sentiment that agriculture should color the work of rural schools, reported the commission, was beginning to find expression in nature study, in a few high school courses of agriculture, and in the establishment of schools especially to teach farm and home courses; but there was need of rousing all rural people to demand such education.⁴

As being pertinent to an understanding of the purpose and aim of the country-life movement, the findings of the commission relative to the spiritual life of the rural community are quoted at some length:

The great spiritual needs of the country community just at the present are higher personal and community ideals. . . . There must be an ambition on the part of the people themselves constantly to progress in all those things that make the community life wholesome, satisfying, educative, and complete. There must be a desire to develop a permanent environment for the country boy and girl, of which they will be passionately fond. As a pure matter of education, the countryman must learn to love the country and to have an intellectual appreciation of it. More than this, the spiritual nature of the individual must be kept thoroughly alive. His personal ideals of conduct and ambition must be cultivated.⁵

In concluding their report, the commission recommended an exhaustive survey of economic and social conditions of rural life, extension work on a national basis, and the beginning of a campaign of rural progress which should include "the holding of local, state, and even national conferences on rural progress."⁶

The chary attitude of Congress and of the nation generally toward the work of the commission is indicated by the fact that the members of the commission served without compensation, and their report was printed by the government for use of Congress only. In November, 1909, a country-life convention which met at Spokane, Washington, in connection with the Second National Apple Show, passed a resolution asking the Spokane Chamber of Commerce to print the report for free distribution. By permission of President William H. Taft, the report was printed and thereby made available for use in the Northwest.⁷ In September, 1910, it was "placed in the hands of a regular book publisher"⁸ and it appeared in book form in March, 1911. "I had hoped," wrote Roosevelt in the introduction, "that Congress would make an appropriation to give the commission official status

and furnish it means to continue its admirable work. As this was not done, I trust that so far as possible the work will be continued by private and voluntary aid.”⁹

In 1911 there also appeared the first edition of *The Country Life Movement*. Its author, Dr. Bailey, defined the movement as “the working out of the desire to make rural civilization as effective and satisfying as other civilization.” Rather than a movement proceeding from one center, with one set of ideas, he asserted, “it is a world motive to even-up society between country and city.” He especially made it clear that it must be distinguished from the back-to-the-land movement, which was primarily an urban impulse expressing the desire of townspeople to escape or of cities to get relieved of certain elements in their population.¹⁰

The primary need of rural life, in Dr. Bailey’s opinion, was not to provide the farmer more income, or to effect an organization; rather it was the placing of “effectively educated” people in the country. “No formal means,” he declared, “can be of any permanent avail until men and women of vision and with trained minds are at hand to work out the plans in an orderly manner.” According to his view, “agriculture is not a technical profession or merely an industry, but a civilization,” a way of life;¹¹ and “the need of a quickened country life has been recognized from the time that cities began to dominate civilization.”¹²

The reconstruction of rural life, as he viewed the situation, “must depend in the main on the efforts of the country people themselves.”¹³ In this point of view, perhaps, inheres the difference in philosophy between him, the seer and prophet of the country-life movement, and that of Kenyon L. Butterfield and some of the others who later organized the American Country Life Association. Dr. Bailey evidently inclined more to the yeast, or leavening, theory: “The open country will rise no higher than the aspirations of the people who live there, and the problems must be solved in such a way that they will meet the conditions as they exist on the spot.”¹⁴ Butterfield and his associates appear to have

had greater faith in the more typically American way of forming an organization, holding national conferences, and adopting a program. Perhaps history's verdict will be that both were necessary, the one complementing the other.

Like those who later organized the movement, Bailey held that the "final object in life is not to make money, but to use money in developing a higher type of endeavor and a better neighborhood."¹⁵ Since the attitude of a man towards the world in which he lives has much to do with his effectiveness and with the satisfaction he gets out of life, Bailey stressed the importance of developing the personal resources of the farmer.¹⁶ Entertainment and recreation have an important contribution to make at this point; however, rural recreation and entertainment should express what is best in rural life and should be the product of rural people rather than some cheap importation from the city.¹⁷

Dr. Bailey closed his important work with words worthy of more widespread and more sympathetic consideration than the next few hectic decades were destined to give them:

We have been living in a get-rich-quick age. Persons have wanted to make fortunes. . . . Persons are now asking how they may live a satisfactory life, rather than placing the whole emphasis on the financial turnover of a business. . . . I think the requirements of a good farmer are at least four: The ability to make a full and comfortable living from the land, to rear a family carefully and well; to be of good service to the community; to leave the farm more productive than it was when he took it.¹⁸

The year after the publication of Bailey's book, The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences published a number of articles on "Country Life." How its point of view differs from that of Bailey is illustrated by an article dealing with the "Rural Home" under the subheads: "the site, geological formation"; "transportation facilities"; "water

supply"; "sewerage and drainage"; "plumbing"; "ventilation"; "heating"; "the cellar"; "materials"; "lighting"; "stables." These were all factors of importance in building a house in the country, but no mention is made of human relationships, the most significant factors in any "rural home."

Three or four of the articles in the *Annals* were written from the country-life point of view. One of these, entitled "Conditions and Needs of Country Life," written by John R. Gillette, of the University of North Dakota, stressed the need for new ideals in rural life. The most fundamental factor in any given situation, he maintained, is the point of view: "A wholesome point of view makes a wholesome life. A changed point of view changes the life." Hence, as regards rural life, improvement must be the consequence of a transformed outlook on the part of rural people as to the place and significance of farm life. The "starved life" of the wealthy farmer, lacking "the enjoyment side of life," his cultural and aesthetic soul "in a state of suspended animation," proved to Mr. Gillette that the fundamental problem of rural life was not one of economics, but rather of building up "the appreciative qualities of life," of cultivating a social outlook and providing intellectual stimulus.¹⁹

Professor Harold W. Foght, writing on "The Country School," expressed the belief that "the present propagandist movement, directed by educators and social philosophers" speaking from college and university platforms, could only direct the attention of rural people to their needs, and suggest possible solutions; the "ultimate readjustments," however, would have to be made by a new generation of farmers, trained in a new and improved rural school. This improved rural school must educate in terms of the "daily life and interests of the community." This would involve not only scientific farming, but a satisfying rural life. Farming should be made as profitable as an equal investment in the city would be, but even this alone would not hold the best people on farms. "Daily life in the country," he argued, "must first be made more humanly interesting and wholesome. So long

as this life is lacking in ordinary social satisfactions, people will go where they can get them.”²⁰

Dr. Warren H. Wilson, discussing “Social Life in the Country,” took the opposing point of view, and maintained that the fundamental change must be economic; that the farmer, through improved education must learn how to produce more, in order that he may have a larger profit while giving the city cheaper prices.²¹ The effect of increased production on total supply, upon price levels, and hence on farmers’ profits, he did not mention.

Dr. Butterfield, the first to teach a course in rural sociology in any land-grant college,²² discussed “Rural Sociology as a College Discipline,” and listed a dozen possible rural sociology courses that might be taught in an agricultural college. Among other things he stated that “the American rural problem is to maintain upon the land a class of people who represent the best American ideals in their industrial success, in their political influence, in their intelligence and moral character, and in their social and class power.”²³

From the year 1912 to 1916 there were numerous articles on different aspects of rural life in American periodicals, and despite the distractions of a war in Europe, there was a continuing interest in the subject, as evidenced by the fact that Bailey’s *Country Life Movement* was reprinted in 1912, 1915, and again in 1916. In November, 1917, a little group of interested people met in Washington, D.C., to consider the general subject “What are the chief goals in an adequate program of country life?” The two sessions were presided over by Dr. Butterfield, then the president of Massachusetts Agricultural College; in attendance were Miss Mabel Carney, Dr. E. C. Branson, Dr. A. C. True, Dean A. R. Mann, Dr. Warren H. Wilson, Professor Paul L. Vogt, Dr. P. P. Claxton, and half a dozen others. In informal meetings these leaders decided to undertake a careful investigation of the country-life field through a number of subcommittees. Out of these sessions and later committee meetings came plans for the calling of the First National Country Life Conference,

at Baltimore, in 1919.²⁴ Strangely enough, to the first session came news of the death of Theodore Roosevelt.

The *Proceedings* of that conference set forth "The Objectives of Country Life" according to the conclusions of its committees. The statement begins with the following paragraphs, which were taken almost verbatim from the address of President Butterfield: ²⁵

The Country Life interest is the supreme rural interest. The welfare of men and women, of boys and girls, in respect to their education, their health, their neighborliness, their moral and religious welfare, is the intrinsic objective of Country Life.

The economic motive is a worthy and dominant one, and a great rural civilization must be founded upon a reasonable economic prosperity. Rural democracy can be secured only as farmers get economic justice; that is, only as they have a fair return for their labor and investment. But the end of all effort for economic effectiveness is human welfare and not merely the possibilities of still more profit; not merely ease and comfort, but the values of the higher life.

These objectives of the country-life movement were reiterated in later National Country Life conferences. In the 1923 conference, at St. Louis, the theme was "The Rural Home." President Butterfield in his address stressed the point that even in that difficult post-war economic situation, in which farmers then found themselves, the fact must not be lost sight of that the existing farmers' movement was "after all bigger than profit-making." The movement is in reality "a part of the great democratic urge of the present century. It is a demand for justice to huge masses of people." A truly satisfying life, he pointed out, must be measured in quality rather than quantity—"quality of people, quality of life, high ideals."²⁶

Dr. E. C. Lindeman, in a paper read to the seventh

annual conference, held in Columbus, Ohio, in 1924, stressed the importance of spiritual ideals. He protested against the leadership in our national life of men who closed their eyes to the whole nature of man and who supported specialized interests at the expense of the progress of the whole. "If the present tendency, the elevation of economic leaders, continues," he warned, "there will of course be no possibility of creating a rural culture in America." Even if these leaders produced farm prosperity, he maintained, they would not be able to build rural communities that could adequately meet the evolving needs of life. Nor could the communities be nuclei of culture, because the habits of life which they built into youth would shut out cultural and humanistic interests.²⁷

At the Fifteenth American Country Life Conference, in 1932, the following objectives were set forth as the aims of a Christian rural civilization:

A greater evaluation of spiritual welfare above material welfare.

A family and community life that satisfies the deepest needs of farm people.

A fair chance for each person to develop his full personality.

* * *

A fair deal and true cooperation between urban and rural interests.

A planned agriculture and country life.²⁸

The foregoing statements make it clear that the goals were not merely economic prosperity for working farmers. Economic justice *is* in the picture, but in the role of means rather than end. The movement, according to the leaders who inspired it and guided it through the years of its organized existence, was a quest for a more abundant life for rural people, an expression of faith in the spiritual worth-

whileness of dirt farmers, a protest against the materialization of life, a challenge to farmers and their wives to realize that higher life which alone elevates existence into living and answers the query as to the purpose of life.

Was the country-life movement new? As a "movement" or a recognized set of problems needing attention, wrote Bailey in 1911, "it may possibly be called new; but in reality it is new only to those who have recently discovered it." He maintained that the movement had been underway for many years, but had "only recently found separate expression."²⁹ Butterfield, the organizer, wished to distinguish his association's activities from earlier efforts in behalf of country life on the part of the school, the rural church, the Grange, and such organizations, all of which gave some attention to recreation, education, and things other than farm work itself. Addressing the Third National Conference, he said, "When I use the phrase 'the country-life movement,' I am thinking of something definite and organized, something people are planning for. In that sense, up to a very recent time there was no such thing as a country-life movement in America."³⁰

Let us examine the available data and see whether or not the movement was new.

Chapter 2

EUROPEAN BACKGROUND AND AMERICAN BEGINNINGS

Back of the twentieth-century movement to improve rural life in America lay the work of individuals and groups extending back over more than a century, and back of these American beginnings were the struggles of our Old World forebears for several centuries.

The earliest work on agriculture published in England, *Husbandry*, by Walter of Henley, appeared in the fourteenth century. It begins with the injunction to "live prudently toward God" and to "have the love of your neighbors."¹ Concerned with improving both farmers and farming, the author showed that he knew something of practical agriculture, for he admonished his readers: "Know for certain that marl (limestone—for acid soils) lasts longer than manure."²

Another event of significance to fourteenth-century English-speaking tillers of the soil was the Peasant Revolt, in the time of John Wycliffe. This spasmodic effort failed, but the struggle for social equality and economic justice went on. Aided by the "Black Death," which created a scarcity of laborers, serfdom in England disappeared by the sixteenth century. The achieving of personal freedom for dirt farmers might be considered the first step toward the goals of the later American Country Life Association.

Hardly had English farm workers won personal freedom when they were faced by unemployment brought about by the trend toward sheep farming. As the big landlords were

permitted to enclose the "commons," thereby depriving little farmers of pasture for their few animals, the security of the poor farmers was jeopardized. In his *Utopia*,³ Sir Thomas More portrays the helpless plight of these victims of "progress." Unemployed, homeless, hopeless, some of them turned to crime: "you first make thieves and then punish them," wrote More. The one great gain resulting from the end of communal farming was that progress in farm methods became easier to achieve, for individuals could try out new ideas and make experiments under the new type of farming on a noncommunal basis.

Sixteenth-century England saw the production of several books on farming. Thomas Tusser's *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry* appeared in verse form. His topics included the advice that parents "through learning and nurture" should teach their child "to live"; otherwise, he would waste any inheritance they might leave him.⁴ Another work, *The Book of Husbandry*, by Master Fitzherbert, touched upon one matter that long continued to trouble rural people, namely the burdens of the farmer's wife. Here is the schedule of duties laid out for her. Upon rising she should say her prayers, then sweep, milk the cows, dress the children, send corn to the mill, make butter and cheese, make sheets, etc.; she must also wash, winnow the corn (grain), brew, make hay, and in time of need help her husband fill the dung-cart, drive the plow, load hay or corn, sell dairy products, and keep the accounts.⁵

A third publication on farming, a translation of a book by Conrad Heresbach, Duke of Cleves,⁶ indicates the source whence new ideas in agriculture were coming into England—the Continent. An account in *The Scot's Farmer* confirms this; it also explains the very slow progress made in English agriculture. Before the Protestant Reformation, nearly a third of the land of Britain was in the hands of Roman Catholic clergy, who were either foreign-born or educated abroad; hence "they imported with them the best methods of cultivation then in practice; and were at pains to propagate them

among their tenants." But in the strife and convulsion attending and following the Reformation, men were too much occupied in civil discord and in religious and political controversy to have either leisure or inclination to improve farms and farming.⁷

A new kind of farm publication appeared in seventeenth-century England. *Legacie of Husbandry*, edited by Samuel Hartlib, was made up of contributions from a number of writers. Thus it was really the forerunner of agricultural society publications and farm periodicals. Unfortunately, the editor's experience did not qualify him to separate the wheat from the chaff of agricultural writings. One of the contributors, Gabriel Plattes, sensed this need and expressed the opinion that a larger work on agriculture should be postponed until an able committee should be found to sift the material, for so many false and misleading statements had been published that farmers' minds had been poisoned, and, he continued, "there is no other way to unpoison them" and "win their belief and willingness."⁸

Another contributor to *Legacie of Husbandry* was Robert Child, who, like Plattes, was well in advance of his day in his understanding of matters related to agriculture. Child was interested in marketing and prices, breeding, fertilizers, and improved farm tools; he also suggested that farmers should get together to exchange ideas on farming, and he pointed out the need for institutions to teach agriculture and the mechanical arts.⁹ He even set forth a plan whose goal was a controlled production of wheat and the ever-normal granary plan projected by Henry Wallace in the 1930's (using government purchase of surplus).¹⁰

The seventeenth century saw the modest beginnings of agricultural journalism.¹¹ The development of farm papers in England, as in America later, appears to have followed an evolutionary process. Agricultural contributions from readers were included in publications carrying general news, prices, commercial news, and so forth. The inclusion of agricultural contributions posed a new problem for the editors, for not

all contributors were agriculturists. Some men, like Jethro Tull, of horse-hoe fame, and Charles "Turnip" Townsend had experimental knowledge as a basis for their writing. Others, who confused learning with much reading, were content to "recite the divers opinions of divers men, or spread their names" [before the public] "a little by publishing some botcherly mingle-mangle" of other people's ideas¹²—with no quote marks and no indication of the sources.

Contemporaneous with the development of agricultural periodicals was the establishment of the earliest agricultural societies in the British Isles, the first ones being in Scotland (1723)¹³ and Ireland (1731).¹⁴ The first one in England came into being in 1777.¹⁵ But the eighteenth century also saw a decline in the number of farm people¹⁶ and especially of the yeoman, or freeholder, class. One writer spoke of the latter group as "a class which taxes, tithes, rates and repairs, with the increased expenses of living, had almost driven from the face of the earth."¹⁷

Eighteenth-century England's writers contributed ideals to their own rural readers and to Americans of a later generation. "True happiness," Joseph Addison told his readers, is not a matter of pomp and noise, but rather of inner peace, enjoyment of nature, and communion with friends. That which depends on the crowd and others' applause he characterized as false happiness. A country life, he maintained, abounds in both the type of labor which a man "submits to for his livelihood" and "that which he undergoes for his pleasure," and hence it affords a man more health and consequently greater enjoyment "than any other way of life."¹⁸

Another writer who contributed to the idealization of rural life was James Thomson, author of *The Seasons*. The happiest of men, he held, was the one who, far from public frenzy of excitement, enjoyed the advantages and pure pleasures of a cultured rural home: comfort, contentment, health, quiet, friendship, good books, alternate labor and leisure, a sense of usefulness, virtue, and inner peace. Then there are the joys of intimate family life:

The touch of kindred, too, and love he feels;
The modest eye, whose beams on his alone
Ecstatic shine; the little strong embrace
Of prattling children, twined around his neck . . .¹⁹

A writer in the field of economics, Adam Smith, gave good advice for any nation concerned to afford rural people equality of opportunity, but as we shall see later, the young American nation chose to ignore the advice. "The greatest and most important branch of commerce of any nation . . . is that which is carried on between inhabitants of the town and those of the country." Whatever tends to raise the price of manufacture in terms of agricultural produce, tends to lower the price of farm products, comparatively, and thereby to discourage agriculture. Giving a monopoly of the home market to its own manufacturers increases the profit of industry and hence draws from agriculture part of the capital formerly employed in it, or prevents new capital from being invested in it. The interdependence of city and country makes selfish economic advantage-seeking a short-sighted policy for either.²⁰

One of the most important contributions of eighteenth-century Europe to American rural life was the publication of a work entitled *The Rural Socrates*, written by M. Hirzel of Switzerland. A translation of this work was brought out in England through the efforts of Arthur Young. Showing the influence of the democratic spirit in Switzerland, *Rural Socrates* held up the ideal of an intelligent dirt-farmer member of an agricultural society who, in discussion of farm methods, was able to hold his own with agricultural theorists of the "educated" class. Whenever the learned man tried to run the peasant farmer down with "volubility of speech," the latter put his wordy opponent to flight by sharp and pointed questions relative to the point under discussion.²¹

Hirzel's model farmer regarded the education of his children as the most important object of his care and the most sacred of his duties. He studied to prevent the intrusion of

false desires within the child mind. Having learned by observation that children imitate their elders, he sought to set a good example himself and to protect them against the bad example of others. "I would sooner undertake to educate a dozen children in virtuous principles, than attempt to reclaim a single man from confirmed error."²² The influence of Hirzel's *Rural Socrates* on American farmers will be pointed out later.²³

Turning now to a consideration of agriculturists in the thirteen American colonies, or states, one becomes aware of the danger of generalizations as regards the conditions of people engaged in a vocation covering so large a territory, with marked differences in soil, climate, farming methods, means of transportation, and location with reference to markets, to say nothing of the differences in culture and heredity among so many communities of transplanted Europeans.

We may, of course, expect to find differences between the slave-holding South and the free North. But the differences within the South and within the North were very important, too. For example, there would be marked differences between older, worn-out farm communities and newer ones, between river valleys or coastal plain areas, and piedmont or plateau areas. Easily eroded highland or hill regions will have different problems from broad valley areas of alluvial soil or areas left covered with deep glacial till. River transportation, accessibility to railroads, and many other factors enter into the picture.

To the degree that the country-life movement was part of a "world motive to even-up society between country and city,"²⁴ or a demand for economic justice, one may anticipate finding the South sharing in the movement. To the degree that it was "a part of the great democratic urge"²⁵ of our era, or an effort to improve education for the sons and daughters of dirt farmers, one will expect to find much more concern and activity in the pre-Civil War North than in the South of the same period.

Let us now trace some evolutionary changes, each with its peculiar problems—and rewards—through which communities passed at varying rates of change, from the more self-sufficing way of life of the isolated pioneer to that of the commercial farmer. For the fortunes of families in different communities and at different stages, one turns to travelers' accounts of the period.

In New England before the American Revolution, John Mitchell found the small-farm owners, who made up the great majority of the population, enjoying most or all of the necessities of life, which they obtained from their farms or from the sale of surplus products. While there was no "elegance," or "style," in evidence, living conditions were reported as being better than those of the few remaining freeholders in England, where increased wealth had destroyed "all moderation" and permitted the wealthy owners to buy up the little freeholds adjoining their estates.²⁶

The conditions in a Pennsylvania community of forty years' standing were described by Hector St. John [de Crèvecoeur]. The farmers there were "animated with the spirit of industry," because each one was working for himself; evidently there was neither poverty nor wealth, but rather a "pleasing uniformity of competence." On Sunday morning they listened to "a parson as simple as his flock, one who was himself a farmer" and who did not "riot on the labours of others." The poor, workless, unwanted class of England, wrote this observer, had here become men.²⁷

The philosophy in the latter part of St. John's first letter is significant to the farming-as-a-way-of-life point of view. "I bless God," he wrote, "for all the good he has given me; I envy no man's prosperity, and wish no other portion or happiness than that I may live to teach the same philosophy to my children, show them how to cultivate it, and be . . . good, substantial, independent American farmers."²⁸ Evidently such a community supplied well the physical needs of men, and some of them at least were finding life socially and spiritually satisfactory.

This same picture of happy rural life is found in the *Letters From an European Traveler in America to His Friend in London*, written in 1785. The visitor found frontier farmers strangers to intemperance and luxury, with senses unimpaired by "high living." They exhibited "simplicity of manners, without mixture of formality—and an honest-hearted generosity without disagreeable show." With them liberty was not a speculative thing but a reality that showed itself in face and bearing. They seemed to enjoy all the satisfactions the world afforded.²⁹

In contrast with the happy life of the more settled frontier community characterized by comparative simplicity and social equality, was the situation of the farmer living in older communities where subsistence farming was giving way to a more commercial type of agriculture. Viewed through the same European traveler's eyes, in the same year (1785), a Connecticut farmer living twenty miles from a market town was having an unhappy experience.

During the war, the farmer told his foreign guest, he had been able to pay taxes, hire a soldier, and still get along; the family then wore homemade clothing and lived simply. Shortly after the peace was signed, however, his oldest children visited friends in the city. There they saw more stylish clothing and returned home dissatisfied with what they had been accustomed to wearing. Their discontent disturbed the peace of the family until the desired articles were purchased. When the new clothes were brought into the household, alas, they had a similar disturbing effect on the younger children. From that time on, the host complained, there was a continual round of fashions that were worse financially than taxes. His income and his expenses were out of balance. Worst of all, the money thus spent did not bring happiness: his children were still discontented. Thus the father lamented the difficulty of the times and what he called the great and sudden corruption of taste.³⁰

The traveler, perhaps influenced by his host's lament, expressed his regret that parts of America had been invaded

by the "follies and fopperies of fashion."³¹ People's contentment with the old simple standards of self-sufficing agriculture seemed to disappear as they came in contact with the new articles made available by developing transportation and commerce. How to make people dissatisfied enough with their lot in life so they will strive for something better and yet not be consumed with a desire for "things" as a means of social display has long been a problem to vex the earnest souls interested in the advancement of rural culture.

That there was need of improved taste in certain areas of rural living was evident to some even in that day. Following a visit to a colony of Frenchmen, Prince [Charles M.] Talleyrand wrote that all ideas of sentiment had vanished from the American backwoodsman. He has "no recollections associated with anything around him." Surrounded by destruction, averred Talleyrand, he lived only to destroy. He thought of a tree in terms of the number of strokes necessary to fell it. He did not love the fields he cultivated, because the labor expended there was so fatiguing.³² This lack of appreciation of nature on the part of one continually at war with her can be understood by any person who knows the enormous amount of labor involved in clearing the trees and shrubs from a small field with hand tools and growing corn among the stumps for a few years following.

Evidently such attitudes and habits of thought were passed on from the pioneer to his sons. They too apparently saw little use in expending physical effort just to make things look more attractive.³³ Such a way of looking at life is comprehensible in the age of the ax, the hoe and the bull-tongue plow. Lest the womenfolk be charged with negligence for not taking the responsibility in making the home surroundings neat and beautiful, one should recall the amount of labor involved in keeping a self-sufficing family provided with the absolute necessities in the era of the spinning wheel and the knitting needle, the dye pot and hand loom, of homemade soap and tallow candles.

Even in those days, however, there was an occasional

exemplar and proponent of the cultured-farmer philosophy of life. Jared Eliot, the author of the first known work about American farmers and farming, was such a man—a spiritual kinsman of Bailey and Butterfield, the two great leaders of the American Country Life Movement in the twentieth century. Minister, doctor, farmer, Eliot states in the first part of his *Essays on Field Husbandry* that his purpose was “to promote the temporal and spiritual interest” of his friends and fellow countrymen. This is seen, too, in his second essay, which concludes with this “infallible and invaluable” bit of advice: “Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.”³⁴

Eliot evidently loved farming and appreciated its social significance. He found more pleasure in the “new-sprung fields” than in sumptuous buildings, splendid banquets and social display. Moreover, the former would contribute to the satisfaction of human need, and it was better to prevent dire poverty than to relieve it. Without husbandry, he maintained, “commerce and communication must come to an end, all social advantage cease, comfort and earthly pleasure be no more.”³⁵

Eliot sensed the need both of improved agricultural methods and of means by which new discoveries and experiments might be made known. Many ideas, he thought, were lost for lack of publication. He therefore offered to publish in his contemplated annual essays any communications along the line of agricultural improvement that might be sent to him, either with or without the writers’ names, as they wished.³⁶ He understood those whom he would help well enough to know that a “plain stile” of writing would make printed ideas more intelligible and more useful to farmers.³⁷

Eliot expressed wonder that, while other fields of learning had been cultivated, agriculture had been neglected. The explanation that the subject was “too low for polite writers” did not satisfy him. “I rather think,” he wrote, “husbandry has been neglected as being too high”; that is, men did not

want to expend the time, care and money necessary to carry out experiments: it was much easier to write an acceptable work about the known arts and sciences than it was to write upon farming in such a way "as not to be despised."³⁸

In view of the important part played later by American agricultural societies, it is of interest to note that this earliest colonial work on farming, Eliot's first essay (1747), mentioned the organization established in Ireland a few years before (1731). Nearly half a century was to elapse, however, before an agricultural society was established here in the New World.

Some of Eliot's contemporaries were also recognizing the need of agricultural improvement. Promotion of agriculture was one of the aims of the philosophical society organized by Benjamin Franklin and his associates at Philadelphia in 1743;³⁹ also of the New York Society for Promoting Useful Arts (1762).⁴⁰ The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, established in Boston in 1780, also had an agricultural committee.⁴¹ One visitor to New England just before the American Revolution found that a few men around Boston had caught the taste for agricultural improvement from England and had introduced better methods and tools; in general, however, poor methods of tillage were being practiced and animals were poorly cared for. He felt that the changes needed in many communities might be brought about through formation of agricultural societies, with premiums for better production. This suggestion was made to friends of agriculture in the Philadelphia area, too.⁴²

The first agricultural societies organized in America were set up in the post-war period of debts and difficulties—one in South Carolina⁴³ and one in Philadelphia (1785).⁴⁴ A New York society was organized in 1791 and a Massachusetts society in 1792.⁴⁵ These organizations were patterned after similar institutions in Europe.⁴⁶ Only a few of the members were "actually engaged in husbandry."⁴⁷ The aristocratic cast of these early societies is seen in the membership lists

containing such names as Timothy Pickering, Richard Peters, George Clymer, Robert Livingstone, John Adams, and others.⁴⁸

The statements of purpose of these early societies indicate that their chief concern was with the field phases of agriculture⁴⁹ rather than with its human aspects. Agriculture then was the chief industry, of concern to consumers, middlemen, statesmen and others concerned with the nation's economy. And the need of improved methods was recognized by many.

Neither the early organizations nor the agricultural articles being published at that time appear to have been aimed at dirt farmers, though practical farmers may have made up an important part of the membership of the Middlesex [Massachusetts] Society and the Kennebec Society, at Hallowell, Maine.⁵⁰ It is doubtful if the programs and publications of most early societies were any more effective in reaching the mass of farmers than were the scribbled words of advice appended by a boy to the detailed instructions for crossing a dangerous stream: "them as can't read had better go round by the bridge."⁵¹

Efforts were made as early as Washington's administration to get federal government support for the agricultural interests. Washington brought the matter of agricultural improvements to the attention of the lawmakers in March, 1790, but nothing was done.⁵² In 1796 he recommended the establishment of a Board of Agriculture who would collect and diffuse information and by offering "premiums and small pecuniary aids . . . encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement."⁵³ A House of Representatives Committee brought in a report that recommended the setting up of a society under government patronage, with a paid secretary. After two readings, the report was committed to a Committee of the Whole, but before the appointed day came, the House got into a discussion of additional revenues; on the appointed day the Committee of the Whole turned its attention to the farmer, but only to consider the desirability of taxing him still more. "Everyone wished to put off the de-

mand from himself upon his neighbor," one representative explained, and while he "regretted calling on the farmer," he believed it necessary, as the merchant was worse off than the farmer.⁵⁴

In view of the very great influence national legislation has had on farming as a way of life, it may be well to consider briefly the matter of who controlled the new government. Charles A. Beard wrote that the constitutional convention was made up of "holders of state and continental bonds, moneylenders, merchants, lawyers, and speculators in public securities which were to be buoyed up by the new constitution"⁵⁵—and paid off, it might be added, by the general taxpaying public, the great majority of whom were farmers. William Strickland is quoted as saying that by 1800 it appeared to him that both capital and the control of the government had slipped out of the hands of the landed proprietors.⁵⁶ Certainly farmers had little influence or representation at the nation's capital, for the House of Representatives did not even have a standing agriculture committee until 1820.⁵⁷

Efforts to get state legislative action met with about the same negative results. In South Carolina, a predominantly agricultural state, complaint was made that forty years after the State Agricultural Society had been established, no agriculture committee had been appointed in either legislative house, and that the committee's proposals were neglected for another twelve or fifteen years after they were appointed in 1825.⁵⁸

Some plans for educating future farmers were set forth by the early agricultural societies and others interested in rural life. The Philadelphia plan called for county agricultural societies with agricultural meetings held in various townships in schoolhouses, with the schoolmaster acting as secretary. The plan also called for the establishment of pattern farms in different parts of the state to experiment with growing new grains, new breeds of livestock and livestock remedies, and for testing out newly invented farm imple-

ments, new types of fencing, and different means of increasing soil fertility.⁵⁹ Lastly, the plan called for legislation requiring the teaching of agriculture, along with other school subjects, with books profitable to rural youth "in the common affairs of life" substituted for other books then in use.

Education for agriculture and rural life had other advocates in that period. In 1787, only ten years after Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi began his work and six years before Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg began his school at Hofwyl, the following system of education for rural life was set forth in an unsigned article in the *Columbian Magazine*. A boarding school for boys and girls of eight to fourteen years of age would be established on three or four hundred acres of land with suitable buildings, barns, and workshop, in charge of a manager-farmer and gardener, a schoolmaster, and a schoolmistress. Two hours of study in the morning and two in the afternoon would be alternated with field work for boys and household tasks for girls: the girls working while the boys studied, and *vice versa*. On individual plots boys would practice growing, budding, pruning, etc., and each would have his shrubs, seeds, and flowers to take home. Girls would learn to sew, knit, spin, make butter, and study household economy in general. Older boys would learn bookkeeping, geography, and practical surveying; also, animal care and other elements of husbandry. All would learn good manners and good morals in a good environment. The author thought the youngsters should be nearly self-supporting if they brought their bedding and clothes. The author anticipated great gains for rural life from such an institution. A few successive classes of students thus educated and returning to their several homes would bring about sweeping changes in methods of cultivation and also in the areas of knowledge and manners.⁶⁰

From the country-life point of view, the benefits and advantages to be derived from such an institution properly conducted appear obvious, especially in view of what Fellenberg actually achieved in his school. Unfortunately, the type

of institution then being established was quite different and seemed to produce a different product. The establishment of so many academies, complained a writer in *Museum* in 1791, invited and trained the sons of working farmers and artisans for "quacks in law, physick, and divinity, to the disgrace of those professions, and to the great danger of the lives, property, and morals of their countrymen."⁶¹

Agricultural education on the college level was included in the "Plan for a Federal University," appearing in *Museum* for 1788 and ascribed to Dr. Benjamin Rush.⁶² In 1803 Thomas Jefferson expressed his belief that a professorship of agriculture in every college and university, with social recognition for agricultural students, would "replenish and invigorate a calling" said to be "languishing under contempt and oppression."⁶³ College work on an experimental basis might have been valuable, but agricultural courses taught by lecture and textbook methods would have been of limited or doubtful value, for most of the books on the subjects were compilations, "verbose, contradictory, and bewildering."⁶⁴

The status of agriculture as a science at that time is seen in the fact that Judge Richard Peters, characterized by Washington as "one of the most intelligent and best practical as well as theoretical farmers" of the day,⁶⁵ admitted that he did not know whether or not common salt was a fertilizer.⁶⁶ The uncertainty of "scientific" farming is further revealed in the statement of the eminent scientist, Sir Humphrey Davey, who told the English Board of Agriculture he had found that "corn sprouted much more rapidly in water positively electrified by the voltaic instrument than in water negatively electrified."⁶⁷ Apparently there was much wisdom in Peters' observation that agriculture, like the common law, was more indebted for its best principles to precedents based on experience and good judgment than it was on the "presumed improvements of theorists and speculative experimenters."⁶⁸

The two great enemies of good farming then, wrote Peters, were "whimsical novelties" on the one hand and on the other, "bigoted adherence" to outmoded agricultural

practices.⁶⁹ Many farmers cleared and wore out one piece of land after another until there was no more land to clear. Such practice made permanent abundant-life rural communities impossible; for with the land worn-out, a farmer either had to "scratch over" larger acreages of poor soil, move West, or slowly build up the land, an art that most of them had "neither the skill, the industry, nor the means"⁷⁰ to accomplish. Occasionally there was a good farmer like William West, who, having bought a hundred acres of worn-out Delaware soil (1764), built it up by use of gypsum (to sweeten acid soil) and red clover (a legume), and barnyard manure. West's achievement was pointed out as a demonstration of a new system of agriculture which "the experience of nearly half a century" proved to be sound.⁷¹

Since the art of farming as practiced by West was far in advance of the science of agriculture as set forth by the men of theory, the situation made it difficult to establish schools that would have at the same time the approval of the "schoolmen" and the respect of practical farmers. Consequently, the sons of farmers had no opportunity to study the vocation of their fathers in such educational institutions.

Lack of formal education may have been one factor lowering the social status of dirt farmers, but it was not the only one—two others were: disrespect for manual labor, and economic considerations. The influence of dominant groups in England and in the South tended to make ownership of a big farm or estate highly respectable. To *be* a dirt farmer, to *engage* in agricultural labor, however, was another matter. Classical education, with its assumption that manual labor was for slaves and menials, probably helped make farm work less attractive from a social viewpoint. A poor farmer's son could usually elevate his social status more easily by attending the academy and entering one of the three "learned" professions than by earning and saving enough by farming to become a "gentleman" farmer.

Something of the economic status of agriculture in 1790 is indicated by Judge Peters' statement that despite the fact

that his own farm produced considerably above the average he still found farming "a bad trade" when earnings on capital were taken into account. There were few men of any ability, he asserted, who could not engage in some other business to better advantage. Agricultural progress and prosperity, he pointed out, might not depend directly on government, but "ultimately, they have no inconsiderable relation to it." The bearing of taxes on farming was offered as a case in point.⁷²

The effect of these economic considerations on the achievement of rural culture and of well-being for farm families is rather obvious. After the first generation or so of farmers had won in their warfare with the wilderness, the finer things in life might be developed if conditions were right. The man who had two loaves of bread might trade one for a bit of beauty. What kind of beauty, false or true, depended upon his taste and the choices his environment afforded, and upon the prevalent social ideals. Whether there would be any "extra" to trade depended upon factors which the individual alone could hardly control. Transportation and communication were very important influences. Educational opportunities, commercial monopolies, interest rates, the way legislative, judicial, and executive powers of government were exercised—all these were other variables.

"In the infinite complexity of human relations, with their interplay of law with economics, and of economics with politics, and of all with the shifting hopes and fears, baseless anticipations and futile regrets of countless individuals," writes R. H. Tawney, "a change which to the statistician concerned with quantities seems insignificant, may turn a wheel whose motion sets a world of unseen forces grinding painfully round into a new equilibrium."⁷³ What wheels were being turned in this period that set new unseen forces painfully agrounding?

The man who evidently best appreciated what was happening to farmers in the early years of the republic was John Taylor of Maryland, an economist who emphasized certain teachings of Adam Smith that have been too much ignored.

The American Constitution, wrote this advocate of a square deal for farmers, was construed as not permitting government aid for agriculture but as permitting it to foster banks and manufactures. Profit, *Arator* declared, was taken from agriculture under the pretense that it would "produce her prosperity!" And capital thus diverted was made to produce a higher rate of interest in investments without labor than the same amount would if employed in agriculture with all the necessary labor involved. Consequently capital was "flying from the field to the legal monopolies: banking and manufacturing." The increased profits of these operations bribed farmers and farmers' sons to desert agriculture; an annual tribute to these "legal factions," wrote this economist, kept agriculture poor and caused the rural districts to lose both capital and brains to the centers of commerce and industry.⁷⁴

The "bitterest pill" which the mother country compelled agricultural America to swallow before the Revolution, wrote Taylor, had been the "protecting duty pill," coated with "the national advantage of dealing with fellow subjects"; and after a terrible struggle to get rid of this "nauseous physick," Americans swallowed it again in similar coating at the behest of political doctors whose power and income depended considerably on these "political drugs" being swallowed. Or, to change the figure, after driving away the thief who for years had robbed us, we welcomed him back in a new coat as some "accomplished and patriotic stranger come to cover us with benefits."⁷⁵ Thus had farmers accepted protective tariffs for manufacturing and banking monopolies.

Taylor may have been influenced in his thinking by the physiocratic theory that agriculture and mining are productive and that manufacturing is "sterile." He may have been looking backward, as Charles A. Beard suggests,⁷⁶ and hence unable to see what manufacturing was to contribute to America. And he was probably blind to the great injustice of his own planter class living off the slave labor of other human beings. Nevertheless, from the vantage point of today,

he appears to be one of the great original thinkers of our nation in the realm of political economy, and his thesis, as Beard says, must be "reckoned among the first pieces of American political literature," for surely he was seeking "some genuine economic foundation for the equalitarian political democracy to which the country was theoretically committed." ⁷⁷

When laws bestow wealth and power upon particular interests in the nation without considering the injury done to other interests, they are no longer being based upon the concept of the general welfare.⁷⁸ Herein lies one explanation of the comparative physical and spiritual poverty which the Roosevelt Country Life Commission discovered. To borrow a figure from the farm: The young colts "Manufacturing" and "Banking" were hitched up with their mother, "Agriculture," about 1800 and given the longer, easier end of the doubletree. No one ever changed the whippletrees later so the strong young horses would have to pull their fair share of the load, and old "Agriculture" got thinner and thinner.

Taylor was not motivated chiefly by economic considerations for his own planter class. "I cannot discern much good in an improvement of agriculture," he wrote, "to get luxury, voluptuousness and tyranny for the few, and wretchedness for a multitude." ⁷⁹ Opposing acquisitiveness, he warned the little farmers, who most needed to practice thrift, against undue cutting of expenses. To make themselves and their families suffer the discomforts of cold houses, bad bedding and insufficient clothing in order to accumulate wealth, he pointed out, was really destroying the vigor of body and mind which was essential to success—even success in getting rich. In similar vein he recommended that the planter should be liberal in his treatment of his slaves, his animals, his hired help, and even the earth itself.⁸⁰

For *Arator*, as for the Country Life Commission a century later, "the extension of comfort and happiness" was the general aim. To prevent their economic enslavement, he averred, the agricultural majority must understand political

morality, so they could distinguish between laws and projects calculated to help the nation and those designed to hurt it. Only such understanding could "prevent the liberty, the virtue, the happiness, the bravery and talents of the nation from being extinguished."⁸¹ The place for farmers to begin, said he, was to elect to state and national legislative bodies men of character and talent genuinely interested in agriculture; men uncorrupted by speculation, political trickery and self-seeking, or by "odious personal vices."⁸²

To one who believes that economic systems, like everything else, must in the long run be based on Jesus' second law of consideration of neighbors—all neighbors—it seems unfortunate that John Taylor did not write more simply and have a greater following. And if he could see the power of monopolies, banking corporations, etc., in our nation today and the debt-ridden, unstable economic structure created by "big labor" and "big farm blocs" imitating their selfish policies instead of pursuing a policy designed to promote the general welfare, he might conclude that he was a better economist and a truer prophet than his generation knew.

From the above it may be seen that in the early years of the republic, certain factors were at work pointing in the direction of better farming and better rural life. These included the few agricultural societies, some articles and published works on agriculture and on education for farm youth, and occasionally an example of good farming and true husbandry. Overbalancing these were the great lack of scientific knowledge and of agricultural schools, the soil-exhausting agricultural practices then commonly followed, and a government dominated by commercial and financial interests that did not understand the problems of agriculture or the contributions of farming as a way of life.

Chapter 3

NEW AND IMPROVED INSTITUTIONS: 1807-1832

For the ideas of John Taylor, Jared Eliot, and others to gain wide influence in the early years of the republic would have required more organization than was provided by the few rather aristocratic agricultural societies then in existence. A new phase of group effort, and one of more significance to country life, may be said to have been initiated by the organization of the Berkshire County (Massachusetts) Agricultural Society. And closely following the development of county societies came the evolution of farm periodicals, and other institutions.

The story of the organization of the Berkshire Society is a familiar one. Elkanah Watson, merchant-banker turned gentleman farmer, exhibited two imported Merino sheep under an elm tree in Pittsfield in 1807. Noting the interest manifested, and probably not unaware of cattle shows in England, where he had visited, he interested some of his neighbors and arranged in the fall of 1810 for the first Pittsfield Fair and Cattle Show. The following winter the Berkshire Agricultural Society was organized, with Watson as president. Another cattle show, attracting more attention and drawing a larger crowd, was held in September, 1811.¹

Fairs and festivals were not new in America. A contemporaneous account of a rural festival near Philadelphia before 1767 tells of the large crowd; the great quantity of British manufactures exhibited; the horse race, which was "absurdly permitted at the same time" and which much interrupted

the "proper business"; many young people walking about, "male and female, hand in hand," evidently very happy; and the variety of styles, affording "many a grotesque figure" and illustrating most of the fashions which "the folly of the great" had for many years past invented.² A somewhat different type of gathering, according to R. H. True, was that started by George Washington Park Custis, of Arlington, who in 1802 and years following turned a sheep-shearing into an annual community holiday. Still different was the exhibition held at Georgetown in May, 1810; as the awards there went forty-eight per cent to sheep and fifty-two per cent to domestic manufactures,³ this fair evidently was concerned more with the woolen industry than with agriculture and rural life.

There were some elements of all of these rural festivals in the Pittsfield Fair, and also some new ones of significance to country life. Domestic manufactures as well as livestock were included in the exhibition. The procession at one of the early fairs included "a platform on wheels, drawn by oxen, bearing a broadcloth loom and spinning jenny, both in operation . . . as the stage moved along; mechanics with flags; and another platform filled with American manufactures." There were other attractions: "Sixty-nine yoke of oxen connected with chains" pulled a plow held by the oldest man in the county. There was a band to furnish music.⁴ The members and honorary members of the society paraded to the church with a cockade of wheat in their hats. "There," reads the chronicle, "the premiums, being silver bowls, cups, spoons, etc., to the value of six hundred dollars, were handsomely arranged in front of the pulpit." After an appropriate pastoral prayer, the president of the society gave an address, followed by an ode "composed for the occasion and sung in a very handsome manner" by a chorus of about one hundred voices. Then the premiums were awarded.⁵ In 1815, the two-day program also included a dinner of the society, auction sales of household manufactures and livestock, and to conclude the festivities, an agricultural ball.⁶

It is evident that the Pittsfield Fair had a broad appeal, and many factors contributed to its success. Domestic manufactures and the sale of manufactured goods concerned town as well as country people. "Local boards in every township" promoted community interest, and "viewing committees," judging crops in the field, brought the organization and fair close to dirt farmers. Winning the cooperation of the clergy added dignity and social approval, and getting women to participate in such a public event in Puritan New England was also significant. There was the appeal of the novel and spectacular in the ox-team and parade. To people living on scattered farms, as contrasted with the early village-community settlements, the annual county fair afforded the chance to meet old friends and acquaintances of their youth. In contrast to the appeal to the intellect of a few, which earlier agricultural societies made, here was an appeal to the heart as well as the head, to the whole man, the whole family, the whole community. Under capable, imaginative, not too easily discouraged leadership, a sheep show had evolved into a combined street parade, agricultural demonstration, annual market, competitive contest, religio-musical service, community picnic, and homecoming celebration. It developed into an institution which exerted great influence on rural life.

The development of a new social institution, like the invention of a machine, depends upon human ingenuity and the right combination of circumstances in the environment. Watson supplied ingenious leadership; moreover, Berkshire County was favorably located, not far from New York City. Something of its human resources is suggested by the fact that this county was the birthplace of Mark Hopkins, Cyrus W. Field, Catherine Sedgwick and Josh Billings, and the seat of Williams College.⁷

County societies on the Berkshire plan, with annual fairs, spread within a few years to many New England and New York counties and even into more distant communities. The Jefferson County (New York) Society was organized in 1816.⁸ State aid to help counties finance their fairs came first

in New Hampshire, on June 26, 1817, when the legislature appropriated one hundred dollars for the Cheshire Agricultural Society and offered to give the same amount to other county societies properly organized within the state.⁹ The Hartford (Connecticut) Agricultural Society was established in 1817.¹⁰ Across the Appalachians, Kentucky had one or two organizations by 1818.¹¹ By 1819 Ohio had one county society;¹² one was reported in Davidson County, Tennessee, by 1820;¹³ and one was organized at Kaskaskia, Illinois, the same year.¹⁴ Rowan, North Carolina, had a society of which John Taylor and Benjamin Franklin were made honorary members on July 4, 1821.¹⁵ Eleven organizations had been set up in South Carolina by 1825.¹⁶

Not all societies existing in this period, however, were patterned after Berkshire. The Philadelphia Society, emphasizing agricultural essays rather than fairs, was reorganized in 1804,¹⁷ and published four volumes of *Memoirs* in the period before 1818. The Agricultural Society of Albemarle was evidently a cross between the old type and the new.¹⁸ At Cincinnati a society was organized in 1820 to promote manufacture as well as agriculture and domestic economy; it held quarterly meetings with premium essays; its members, including people of wealth and influence, passed resolutions that they would not buy luxurious and extravagant items, and would abstain from purchasing imported goods of all kinds as far as possible,¹⁹ an act showing concern for manufactures rather than agriculture.

The spread of agricultural societies patterned after the Berkshire plan was due to a combination of factors. Some of these were the usual economic and social considerations. For example, the soil-depleting system then commonly followed made farming ever less productive; hence there was an ever-widening sense of the need of improved agriculture, and of means to bring it about. From the social and educational points of view, these farmers' festivals,²⁰ as they came to be called, filled a real need. In days before the coming of good roads and the automobile, "going to the fair" was one of the

big recreational and educational events of the year. This social value was appreciated in the early days.²¹

Other factors somewhat artificially stimulated the development of county societies with annual fairs. Watson, who was quite the promoter, gave considerable effort and time to promotion and organization in the years from 1815 to 1820.²² These years immediately following the Napoleonic Wars and War of 1812 were a period of falling prices, always a cause of distress to producers whose operations extend over a long period.²³ It was probably these "hard times" and the discontent they produced that helped induce state legislatures to grant aid to agricultural societies in New Hampshire (1817), New York (1819), and Massachusetts (1820).²⁴

The influence and importance of state aid should be properly evaluated. Even the parent organization in Berkshire County had difficulty financing its fair after the first few years, as is indicated by Watson's pleas for financial support in his farewell address as president in 1814: "Every farmer in this community must be *dead* to his own interests and dead to the honor of Berkshire," he pleaded, "not to contribute his mite to a general fund, on which alone must depend the existence of the society."²⁵ Possibly the founder overestimated the importance of competition for valuable premiums. Certainly the raising of a large premium fund presented a problem.²⁶

Criticism of farmers for failure to contribute, however, should be tempered with understanding; and true understanding involves sharing. Men of other vocations, like Watson, who did not get their capital and income from produce grown on the land by their own labor and transported over poor roads and sold in a buyer-controlled market could hardly possess that understanding. In the face of the difficulties involved, the granting of state aid, especially in a period of declining prices, was of unquestionable help to those responsible for financing the fairs.²⁷

Unfortunately, however—or is it fortunately?—the propagation of a new social institution is not as simple as the

sale of a new mechanical invention. Under the rather artificial stimulus of state aid, some organizations were set up prematurely.²⁸ To take advantage of the offer of funds, men quickly set up "machinery" in imitation of the Berkshire organization in many a New York or New England county without first assuring themselves that there was sufficient "power" in human resources to keep the "machinery" running.²⁹

But others met with more lasting success. In New York a society was organized three years before state aid was made available and continued on through the decade after state aid was withdrawn.³⁰ In Maine two societies were kept alive without state aid, and six county societies were formed in Ohio from 1819 to 1833 before legislation made help available.³¹ The Hillsborough (New Hampshire) Society, though in the opinion of a state-aid advocate "cast off as a foundling child," continued to struggle on.³²

The success of the Jefferson County Society, like the parent society in Berkshire, illustrates the importance of both human and natural resources. Skirted by Lake Ontario and the headwaters of the St. Lawrence River, the county had the favorable location necessary; also fertile soil. The organization had good leadership in LeRay Chaumont, its French-Canadian president, to whose "indefatigable efforts" over a period of fourteen years the success of the society reputedly owed a great deal.³³ But even the best leaders must have followers if they are to succeed. Something of the other human resources of the county is revealed by Emily F. Hoag's study, *The National Influence of a Single Farm Community*. One Jefferson County community produced Charles Finney, president of Oberlin College, C. N. Crittenden, Daniel Burnham, "Peck's Bad Boy" and others.³⁴ With such resources almost any worthy social institution should have been able to succeed. And the study of such a rural community and its human products should make clear the significance to the nation of socially healthful, cultured, rural community life.

During the period when county societies were growing in America, efforts were made to establish State Agricultural Societies, but with varying and generally indifferent or short-lived success.³⁵ Definite plans for a National Board of Agriculture, moreover, were offered by the parent county society, Berkshire. This proposition, strangely enough, contained the suggestion of "an appropriation of several valuable tracts of land in the national territories, and in eligible situations . . . which should constitute a permanent fund for the promotion of agriculture within the United States." Here is the germinal idea of the land grant for agricultural education that was put on the statute books of the nation in 1862. The functions proposed for the paid officers of the National Board of Agriculture anticipated those performed by the Agricultural Bureau when it was established a generation later. It was suggested that they maintain a Washington office as a repository for publications on agriculture, seeds, plants, models, and machines of agriculture.³⁶ Both of these suggestions, however, had to lie as dormant seeds till public opinion furnished a "climate" and soil favorable to their development.

As has been suggested above, many county agricultural societies in the North and East failed in the 1820's. This was due in part to "premature birth" and dependence upon "machinery"; in part it was probably due, as Bidwell and Falconer point out, to the disappointment of farmers producing for the market, who in a period of depression had turned to the new organization with vague hopes that it might help them solve their economic problem, which was one of marketing rather than production.³⁷

Criticism offered when efforts were being made to revive county societies in New York, about 1820, reveals other causes of dissatisfaction with the earlier movement. For example, it was noted that premiums had been awarded "for the encouragement of such practices in husbandry as, if generally adopted and persisted in," would have brought "poverty and ruin" to the farmer. In other words, the award

went to the individual who produced the best animal or the greatest yield of produce per acre, regardless of whether the project was carried through at a profit or at a financial loss. This policy was followed more or less, admitted the farmer-writer, by many, perhaps all, of the societies, but in such cases, he maintained, the censure should have fallen upon the board of executives for their indiscretion.³⁸ Others protested that these "experiments made for the purpose of display, unmindful of costs," were carried on by "gentlemen of fortune," who, having made money in other fields amused themselves with farms as others might with horses or dogs.³⁹

The same criticism was set forth by a New Hampshire farmer in slightly different form: "The rich obtain all the premiums"; why then should twelve pay their money in agricultural society dues for one to pocket as premium at the fair? ⁴⁰ On the other hand some justified such awards as encouragement to experimental husbandry "to explore the region of practicabilities" and find out "how great were the powers of the soil." ⁴¹ But such practice evidently did not recommend itself to the great majority of farmers, who had to "earn their bread by the sweat of their brow [*sic*]." Under the "true principle of granting premiums for the best production attended with most profit," declared a country farmer, "producers who were poor or in moderate circumstances "could or would have been competitors and successful ones." ⁴²

In view of the long history of the county fair and its broad social influence, a few other criticisms of earlier county organizations and fairs are here mentioned. The assertion was made that the executive officers too often were not farmers; or, if farmers, they were not capable, said a second critic. A third said there were too few working members in the society. A fourth criticized giving premiums to members only.⁴³ "Should there be a re-establishment of agricultural societies throughout the State," editor Naaman Goodsell apprised his readers of the *Genesee Farmer*, "the past will prove a lesson admonishing farmers not to trust

their own business too much to others, as zeal is not always a proof of superior knowledge.”⁴⁴

The factors that favored development and continuance of county societies also favored development of the agricultural press. The need of some means of communicating ideas of better farming methods had been realized by Jared Eliot; his offer to include such communications with his projected annual essays had in it the idea of the later periodical. The publications of the learned societies served this end in part, and those of the early agricultural societies had been devised to meet this need. In 1810-12, the *Agricultural Museum* was issued from Georgetown. Evidently, however, there was not support enough to maintain an agricultural periodical until after the organization of the county societies.

In the second quarter of the year 1819, two periodicals made their initial appearance: on April 2, *The American Farmer*, published by John Skinner at Baltimore; on June 5, *The Plough Boy*, put out by Solomon Southwick (“Henry Homespun, Jr.”) at Albany. The early lives of both papers reflected the interest of their respective sections in agricultural improvement. The Albany County Agricultural Society, organized with Southwick as corresponding secretary in 1818, appears to have held three annual fairs and then ceased to function,⁴⁵ as did most of the New York counties following the discontinuance of the state bounty. Southwick’s paper, known after the first few months as *The Plough Boy and Journal of the Board of Agriculture*, continued publication only until June, 1823. Skinner’s paper was more fortunate.

Anyone who has very carefully examined the first volume of *The American Farmer* must have noted the change in the nature of the publication in the course of the twelve months. Editor Skinner, then postmaster at Baltimore, began a paper devoted to “domestic economy, internal improvement, news, and current prices,”⁴⁶ in the hope that this leisure-time occupation could keep Maryland “from being outstripped by all her neighbors in the honorable contest for the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, internal improvement, and domes-

tic economy." He invited "gentlemen qualified by study, reflection or experience to add even one ray of light to the common stock of intelligence on these all-important subjects."⁴⁷ The editor apologized for the news section of his first issue and stated that he planned to give more attention to that section,⁴⁸ a promise which he fulfilled in the next issue by giving five of his twenty-four columns, or twenty-five percent of his space exclusive of advertisements, to news.⁴⁹ He invited advertisements on literature, useful inventions, sale of land, livestock, seed and farming implements.⁵⁰ The longest original contributions in the early issues of the *Farmer* were addressed "to the Lieutenants and Midshipmen of the United States Navy" and were signed "a Naval Officer,"—evidently an effort to interest possible subscribers at the Annapolis Naval Academy, only twenty miles from Baltimore.⁵¹ Another series was published under the heading "Domestic Manufactures."⁵² There is little in these first issues to suggest a farm paper.

Then in the issue of May 28 the editor published a letter from a farmer, with more praise than the communication itself would appear to warrant, and added this long editorial note:

A thought has just occurred to us, which we may someday put in execution—to give abstracts from the numerous letters we receive from all parts of the United States. They would indicate the estimation in which agriculture is held; its present state, and the temper and habits of the people in regard to it . . .⁵³

The rest of Volume One contains no more long communications from and to naval men. The issue of June 14 told of coming contributions on agriculture, and in the next issue the editor acknowledged receipt of several "very valuable communications on the leading subject of our paper" and published three on agriculture. The July 2 issue was given largely—about seventy-five per cent—to two long

agricultural reprints, with the author's apology for lack of variety.⁵⁴

Beginning in October, Skinner made repeated requests that information be sent in about new agricultural societies,⁵⁵ and on November 12 he gave warning to the readers of his journal that they must not expect to find its pages "filled up with light ephemeral speculations and essays, cooked up to satisfy the ever-craving appetites of news-mongers and politicians." The purpose of the paper, he implied, was to serve agriculture.⁵⁶ At the end of the first year he invited town subscribers to call for their papers, as the expense of delivering them by carrier overbalanced the profits, there being "so few subscribers in town."⁵⁷ At the end of Volume Two, "News" was dropped from the subhead of the paper.⁵⁸

This *volte-face* as regards news, source of contributions, plan of delivery, and so forth, would seem to indicate a change in policy in the course of the year. The word "Farmer" in a paper then did not connote what it does today. The Walpole [New Hampshire] *Farmers' Weekly Museum*, established in the 1790's, was evidently just a news weekly.⁵⁹ *The Republican Farmer*, established at Staunton, Virginia, in 1808, was likewise a general news periodical, later called the *Staunton Spectator*.⁶⁰ So it is the author's studied judgment that Skinner set out to publish a weekly newspaper and changed it, in the course of the first year, to a farm periodical.

His biographer states that "nothing in his education" tended "to prepare him directly for the particular field" as an agricultural editor.⁶¹ He left his farm home at fifteen, trained for the law, and had political influence enough to get and keep the postmaster's job at Baltimore from 1816 to 1837. As postmaster, he could have his publication delivered at little or no expense through the mails to farmers. Evidently the most he can be given credit for is, in his own words:

The establishment of a central and convenient repository . . . in which to collect the experience of observant men, willing and able to communicate the results

of personal observation and practice in the field, to be thence distributed more widely and equally over the land.⁶²

Nor does he claim that this was his original idea.

The "thought" that "occurred" to Skinner about May 28 very likely came from Southwick and his publication. In the July 2 issue of *The American Farmer*, about a month after Skinner began to change his policy, he mentioned having received four issues of *The Plough Boy*,⁶³ Southwick's publication, the first issue of which is dated June 5. The prospectus of *The Plough Boy*, dated May 17, 1819, was printed in the *Albany Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, May 19.⁶⁴ The writer thinks that postmaster Skinner received a printed copy of the prospectus of *The Plough Boy* from Albany through the mails, or saw the advertisement in the *Albany Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, and therefrom got the idea of turning his news sheet into a farm periodical, the policy he carried out in the course of the year.

In contrast with *The American Farmer*, *The Plough Boy* from the outset made its appeal to yeoman farmers. Southwick explained that he would take his stand with "the Home-spun Party—the party of the Plough Boys." The name, he said, conveyed the idea of an unsophisticated American, "a virtuous, intelligent, brave, hardy and generous yeoman," who abhorred idleness, luxury and dissipation—which subverted "private happiness and public liberty."⁶⁵ There is a striking uniformity in the issues of the first volume of *The Plough Boy*, and from the very first the editor showed his concern for the human as well as the agricultural aspects of rural life.⁶⁶

The old problem, illustrated by the butter-from-fresh-milk recipe in Hartlib's *Legacie of Husbandry*,⁶⁷ still faced agricultural editors—and created problems for their readers. "Ninety out of a hundred writers for such publications," asserted one correspondent, were satisfied to give "statements unsupported by proof," when, as a matter of fact,

readers could draw their own deductions if given the facts. This contributor urged the editor not to print any original contributions which did not add at least one new fact to the store of human knowledge and recommended that all communications be signed: this would make for accuracy and precision, as the writer's reputation would be at stake; it would also permit a reader to ask for further details if necessary.⁶⁸ The editor replied that he had recourse "to the work of sages who had studied the art, as well as to those who had practiced long and successfully."⁶⁹ This would seem to admit that he did not have firsthand knowledge of agricultural matters—any more than did Skinner.

Evidently the time was ripe for development of farm periodicals, otherwise men inexperienced in farming could not have kept them alive. The saving factor in the situation was the experience shared by dirt-farmer contributors. The third farm paper was *The New England Farmer*, edited by Thomas Green Fessenden, poet, journalist and inventor.⁷⁰ Son of a minister, trained for the law, Fessenden's difficulties in the new job might have been anticipated—and the woes of his readers! For example, he began the second volume of his publication with a reprint from the *Philadelphia Journal of Medical and Physical Sciences*, which it afforded him "much pleasure" to present to his readers:

The *Solanum tuberosum*, according to botanical writers, belongs to the class pentandria, order *Mono-gynia*, and of the natural family *Erudae* of Linnaeus, and *Solanae* of Jussieu. It is known by the following characters: root-bearing tubers, stem herbaceous, not armed, segments of the leaves unequal, alternate-pedicles pointed, corolla five—angular.⁷¹

How many farmers could have guessed that the topic was the common potato! Another reprint on flax, "already extensively published in newspapers and other periodical publications," filled a page and a half of each of three issues. He

had to fill his eight-page publication with something. His comment on the article: "It contains the best instruction we have seen on the important topic of which it treats"—a comment an illiterate could make about the cause of cancer!

His readers wrote in that his paper would be "more acceptable . . . were it not for the dry, uninteresting, and wire-drawn articles with which column after column" was filled; that they were "absolutely tired to death" with endless essays; that "ear-boring and jaw-cracking words" were "all Greek to farmers" and that addressing his "disciples in an unknown tongue" was neither orthodox nor useful.⁷² Trying to educate their editor, one Pennsylvania farmer suggested that experiments and results were "what farmers seek" and that farmers note the kind of soil on which experiments are made. The editor replied, "We intend shortly to give in our paper the different modes of analyzing soils recommended by writers on husbandry."⁷³ Such a hit-or-miss collection of truth and error would be of little value to men who needed the experienced man's judgment based on experiments.

The saving factor in the situation of Fessenden's paper, as with Skinner's, was the cooperation and sharing of experience of practical farmers. But even with the aid of men like John Lowell, Timothy Pickering, and other gentlemen farmers, in July, 1825, *The New England Farmer* had only eight subscribers in Hillsborough, New Hampshire, where there were enough wide-awake farmers to keep a county society alive.⁷⁴ What agricultural periodicals needed were editors who had enough experience to sift the wheat from the chaff of agricultural writings and know which contributions to throw into the waste basket and which to publish.

Luther Tucker, founder of the *Genesee Farmer* (Rochester, 1831-39), recognized this, for he secured the services of first Naaman Goodsell, and later other men—Willis Gaylord, John and Charles Thomas, and Dan Bradley⁷⁵—to provide the firsthand experience and knowledge of farming. Tucker was an experienced printer and publisher, his assistants supplied the agricultural judgment. His paper rendered

an important service to farmers, and he definitely surpassed Fessenden and Skinner in efforts to avoid propagating error. This, however, hardly justifies William E. Ogilvie's praise of him for his "critical views of farming."⁷⁶

The first American editor who appears to have understood both farmers and farming was Naaman Goodsell, whose ideals of editorship may be seen in Volumes One and Two of Tucker's *Genesee Farmer* and in the short-lived *Goodsell's Genesee Farmer*, which he published after leaving Tucker. In his own first issue he said his aim was to lay before his readers "in the most concise manner, such facts as have been well established by experiments made in our own country."⁷⁷ He used words to convey ideas rather than to conceal lack of understanding. For example, a short half-column article in his first issue explained the idea and purpose of crop rotation without using the unfamiliar word "rotation."⁷⁸ There are many other brief, pithy items in the early issues, running from an inch to a half-column in length.⁷⁹

Goodsell realized the danger of commercial advertising to the trustful and unwary. While excluding all advertisements as such, he offered to publish without pay notices of farmers' products provided they were accompanied by such recommendations as would satisfy the editor they were worthy of being brought to the reader's attention.⁸⁰ He wanted all contributors to sign their real names.⁸¹ His high standards regarding advertising and contributions probably explain in part why his paper could not continue.

Like other country-life spirits from Jared Eliot to Liberty H. Bailey, Goodsell was concerned over what was happening to farm people. One short reprint urged parents to teach children to waste nothing; to save, "not for their own use, for that would make them selfish; but for some use." "Teach them," he urged, "to share of everything with their playmates; but never allow them to destroy anything."⁸² A reprint of John Locke's writing advised people to seek lasting pleasures, to preserve their health, seek knowledge, do good, have innocent diversions.⁸³ Another, under the heading "The

Good Oberlin Says," told of the advantages of education and science as John Frederick Oberlin applied and adapted them in his community work (in the Vosges Mountains area).⁸⁴

Lastly, Goodsell urged farmers to respect themselves and to take the political power which they should possess: "Cease to be the dupes of office-hunters and politicians," he urged, "and your sons will no longer be deserting you for the mercantile business" or "aspiring to the dignified title of demagogue."⁸⁵

Along with the development of agricultural societies and the agricultural periodicals, the period 1807-1832 saw new institutions and new emphases in rural education. Not only was elementary education extended, but the content, purpose, and methods of education were under criticism as not being sufficiently related to the realities of life. The "classical education" type of institution may have served to train for the three learned professions, although even this is debatable, but it did not serve agriculture.

"The chief, object of Education at the present day," wrote the "Country Farmer" in one of his series of letters to the *New York Farmer*, "seems to us farmers to be learning, book learning . . . as if, in reality, the business of education was only to cram the memory, and hardly think of the heart or the understanding." Popular opinion, he continued, seemed to regard education as the principal means of rising in the world—not as farmers or mechanics, but by overstepping "everything connected with the arts and trades."⁸⁶

The best feature of a genuinely good education, he wrote, "is to incorporate good and useful habits, with the necessary learning." The health of the mind as well as that of the body may be injured by keeping children too close to books; the mental appetite palls with continued feeding, and the "result is a distaste for books, an unconquerable aversion which extends even through life."⁸⁷ There is wisdom, he philosophized, in the lesson of the ruminating ox.

The schoolmaster with a stuffed memory but vacant, inactive mind, he continued, should not be trusted with the

education of farmers' children: "There is contagion in his example." These drones of literature, filled with the jargon of the higher schools, lack knowledge of the business of life and are the wrong men for schoolteachers so far as the farmer's interest is concerned. Too often the pedagogue is a "bird of passage," training for some other profession—certainly his ideals and example give the wrong direction to the thoughts of a farmer's son.⁸⁸ The boy "who has bespattered his ideas" with a little Latin and Greek and got his mind filled with the "notions of the 'classics,' is spoiled, forever, for the farm." At least this is true as a general proposition.

It is the same with girls "eddycated" at a fashionable boarding school, where their minds are "turned" with "accomplishments" such as painting, drawing, music, and belles-lettres. They are unfitted for being the wives of farmers. The "doll" daughters of town acquaintances, averred this rural philosopher, are "bred to look upon labor as vulgar affairs for vulgar folks, and themselves as ladies, the more helpless, the more genteel"; and a great deal too much of this attitude is getting into many a farmer's family circle.⁸⁹

The ten or twelve letters of the "Country Farmer," reflecting the educational philosophy of Hirzel's *Rural Socrates*,⁹⁰ were only part of the evidence manifesting a desire for a more practical education. The von Fellenberg school at Hofwyl, Switzerland, had many admirers and imitators in the United States of that period.⁹¹

A "Fellenberg school" was established at Windsor, Connecticut, in 1825.⁹² Another one at Whitesborough, Oneida County, New York.⁹³ Beginning with six students, the school was soon filled with sixty. "By the practice of early rising" students gave "more than the usual hours" to study, while three hours a day were "employed between Agriculture, Horticulture, and the Mechanic Arts." Five hundred applicants were said to have been turned away in one year. This indicated something of the response to the new type of educational institution.

A school at Gardiner, Maine, reflected some of the same

influence although it preceded the so-called Fellenberg schools. Called "America's first agricultural school,"⁹⁴ it was probably the first of its kind to receive state aid (1823-31).⁹⁵ Something of the progressive theories of its first principal is indicated by mention in the early catalogues of plans for recognizing individual differences in interests, a course of readings with examination in lieu of recitations, and short winter courses.⁹⁶

These new progressive institutions did not survive to meet the recognized need for agricultural education. Part of the explanation may be the difficulty Fellenberg himself had in opposing old systems of education and in training spiritual disciples to carry on the new principles.⁹⁷ In part it might have been the lack of knowledge of scientific agriculture, as yet in its infancy. The reasons given for the failure of the Gardiner school were: jealousy of established schools and colleges of the classical type, religious denominationalism, the loss of Principal Benjamin Hale to Dartmouth College, and possibly political differences.⁹⁸

Concern for agricultural education brought forth a few suggestions advocating college courses in agriculture⁹⁹ and some agricultural textbooks. An *Agricultural Reader* for elementary schools appeared. Other publications were Frederick Butler's *Farmers' Manual*¹⁰⁰ and John Armstrong's "A Treatise on Agriculture," which appeared in serial form in *The Albany Argus* and then was reprinted in *The American Farmer*,¹⁰¹ and in part, at least, in *The Plough Boy*.¹⁰²

One other forward step for rural life in the 1807-1832 period was the beginning of interest in beauty, gardening, and improvement of rural taste. As early as 1789 Nicholas Collins told his American Philosophical Society audience that farmers destroyed such beauty as their descendants of better taste would regret, and expressed the wish that when clearing the land for agriculture the hills might be left "crowned with towering pines and stately oaks" and the tulip trees and magnolias might be left standing.¹⁰³ In the 1820's other voices were raised in praise of rural taste, as this was a matter about which non-farming editors of farm papers could give advice.

Farmers were urged to plant orchards and have their homes surrounded with fruit and flowers.¹⁰⁴ "Let taste and useful elegance take the place of comfortless waste and idle profusion."¹⁰⁵ The contributions of garden and orchard to health were pointed out,¹⁰⁶ and one speaker asserted that a farmer's character could be judged by the amount of attention he gave to gardens and fruits.¹⁰⁷

In defense of the farmer who neglected such things, it should be pointed out that necessities of life had to be provided first, and in pioneer communities there was no time for "refinements and delicacies."¹⁰⁸ Later generations did not have to clear the soil but life was still hard with all the hand labor involved; also, it is easy for sons to imitate the habits and value systems of their fathers. Even as late as 1830 there was complaint of general neglect of gardens and attractive yards in older areas of Massachusetts, New York, and Connecticut.¹⁰⁹

Interest in horticulture spread from urban areas westward. By 1828 there were horticultural societies in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and within the year at Albany and at Geneva, in western New York.¹¹⁰ The efforts of town enthusiasts to interest farmers in their new hobby met with indifferent success at first. The "Country Farmer" gives his reactions in this account of an annual meeting of a horticultural society with banquet and ball. "The Garden was all lighted up like the grove of woods at Camp Meeting time, all full of bustle, people everywhere, and all in great haste!" The ticket for the dinner cost the price of eight bushels of potatoes, oats, or turnips. He was also out the cost of staying in town one night, stable and feed for his horse, the loss of a day's work, and the five or six dollars' worth of produce brought for the exhibition, which became the property of the society. He concluded that such affairs might attract gentleman farmers, but "the real sweat-of-the-face gardeners" would cooperate reluctantly, if at all.¹¹¹

Along with the encouragement of horticulture and the effort to improve taste came other influences not entirely salutary to rural life. Attention to appearances caused some

people to build larger houses than they needed or could afford.

The wish to be thought of more importance than we really are, and the notion that this importance will be estimated from the spacious mansions in which we reside, is too prevalent among every class of society; but in no one is the consequence more prejudicial, or its influence more deeply felt, than in the agricultural community.¹¹²

This spirit affected dress, tending toward extravagance. It even injured the cause of true hospitality and social intercourse when "the notion grew into fashion, that a display of great style was the chief object of interchanging visits."¹¹³

This criticism of the new influences that came with commercial agriculture, the growth of cities, and the rise of a social class of *nouveaux riches* who followed the manners and customs of European aristocracy, found expression in verse as well as prose.

THE TIMES

The time, the time, I say the times,
Are getting worse than ever;
The good old days our fathers trod
Shall grace their children never;

* * *

Farewell, the Farmer's honest looks,
And independent mien,

* * *

Farewell to all the buoyancy,
The openness of youth,
The confidence of kindly hearts,
The consciousness of truth,
The natural tone of sympathy,
The language of the heart,
Now curbed by fashion's tyranny,
Or turned aside by art.

Farewell to the husking bee, the quilting match, blind man's buff, "the laugh that shook the room"—old recreations and good times. The author closed with the old refrain of nearly every generation: "We are turning from the path our fathers trod of yore." ¹¹⁴

Evident at this period, too, was a growing sense of rivalry between farmer and townsman. The inferiority feeling of the yeoman farmer—or was it his reaction to the superiority feeling of his white-collared brother in town?—found expression in another bit of anonymous verse, entitled "The Butterfly to the Snail." The butterfly, newly born, sat perching on a rose, his bosom glowing with pride and conceit, when he happened to see his forgotten friend, the snail, dragging his house slowly o'er the grass. "What means yon peasant's daily toil from choking weeds to rid the soil?" he cried to the gardener. "Crush the slow, the pilfering race" and rid the garden of disgrace.

"What arrogance!" (the Snail replied)

"How insolent is upstart pride!

Hadst thou not thus with insult vain

Provoked my patience to complain,

I had concealed thy meaner birth

Nor traced thee to the scum of earth.

* * *

"I own my humble life, good friend;

Snail was I born, and Snail I'll end.

And what's a butterfly? at best,

He's but a caterpillar drest;

And all the race (a numerous seed)

Shall prove of caterpillar breed." ¹¹⁵

Since man is a social being he cannot be unmindful of the esteem in which he is held by his fellows; social esteem influenced many decisions, and was itself the product of many factors. The status of agriculture in a northern manufacturing area in the 1820's is indicated by the speech of one

of its defenders: "To my understanding," said he, "it is perfectly incomprehensible why any person should consider the employments of the farmer low and mean, far beneath almost every other profession."¹¹⁶ Other speakers may have been less frank but their efforts to afford inspiration and encouragement to the farmer indicated that, in their estimation, he needed it.¹¹⁷ For preachers, professors, and others to say that the farmers' vocation was ancient and honorable, and that it was conducive to health, happiness, and peace of mind, did not make rural life attractive to farmers' sons and daughters "oppressed by the growing sense of social inferiority to city folks."¹¹⁸

Part of the feeling of inferiority arose from society's attitude towards labor. In the South, poor white people despised labor because of the influence of slavery.¹¹⁹ In the North, factory labor, which had neither slave nor serf connotations or associations, was respectable for farmers' daughters, but they regarded housework for others as degrading. "Spare us," wrote one agricultural correspondent, "the humiliation of performing the servile offices, and living in the kitchens of our more fortunate neighbors."¹²⁰ New England young men flocked to cities "to engage in any business—or no business—rather than engage in the honest employment of the field."¹²¹ The reason: "They entertained a mistaken notion that the employment of the agriculturist is less honorable than that of most professions."

The economic factor also affected the status of the farmer. From the heart of the Blue Grass section of Kentucky a traveler reported that the mere possession of land gave a man no importance; "storekeepers and clerks ranked much above farmers." Due to lack of markets, he explained, produce could be "bought much under what anyone could raise it for"; consequently, farmers were "men of no importance."¹²² The situation in Connecticut was just as bad: How many farmers invest any surplus income in improving their estates, queried David Humphreys. It was the opinion

of the capitalist, said he, that nothing could be made by farming.¹²³

The period 1815 to 1830 was, according to Bidwell and Falconer, a period of declining prices of farm produce.¹²⁴ The assertion was made that in "some of the most beautiful townships of New England" half of the farms were mortgaged.¹²⁵ The seriousness of the situation in Virginia—and one specific reason for agriculture's plight—is revealed in a remonstrance of the Fredericksburg [Virginia] Agricultural Society to Congress, opposing attempts to increase the tariff on manufactured goods.¹²⁶ Farmers were suffering from the government policies of which John Taylor had tried to forewarn them.

Part of the difficulties of the farmer producing for market may have been due to one-crop farming, with its decreasing productiveness. Even this, however, may have helped avoid overproduction for limited markets. Experienced men were repeating the old criticism that farmers attempted to cultivate too much land,¹²⁷ explaining that the cheapness of land and the scarcity of labor caused farmers to try to get the most produce from the least labor.¹²⁸ Statistics reveal that wages then were increasing while farm prices were declining.¹²⁹ It is certain that improved agricultural practices would not commend themselves to many farmers if they yielded less net profit.

Another difficulty faced by some farm families was the decline in household manufactures. In 1816 these were estimated at not less than \$120,000,000.¹³⁰ As factories increased and transportation improved, self-sufficing farm families were affected in two ways: the competition of factory-made goods gradually destroyed any profitable market for domestic manufactures, cutting family income from this source; secondly, there was increased demand for cash with which to purchase clothing and other items for all the family.

The situation at a certain stage of the transition to commercial agriculture is clearly pictured in the reminiscences

of Martin Welker regarding "Farm Life in Central Ohio." "The hardest thing that the farmer had to encounter," recounts Welker, "was the high price of many goods sold in the store, such as muslin, calico, loaf sugar, tea and coffee." Often he had to give a bushel of wheat for a pound of coffee or of loaf sugar.¹³¹ This may be explained in part by the fact that a pound of coffee or loaf sugar could be brought in more cheaply than a bushel of wheat could be shipped out. In part it was due to the monopoly position of the middleman. With much competition among farmer-producers, and little or none in either the buying of farm produce or the selling of farmers' supplies, the same merchant could offer a low price for wheat and charge a high price for muslin.¹³²

For small communities, too, the local merchant was not infrequently the only source of short-time credit. Hence the predicament of a farmer who got in debt might become as serious as that of the tobacco planter of Jefferson's day: "Long experience has proved to us," wrote the sage of Monticello, "that there never was an instance of a man's getting out of debt once in the hands of a tobacco merchant and bound to consign his tobacco to him."¹³³

As domestic industries declined and "store-bought" goods became available, competition in dress came to depend, not on individual skill, taste, and ingenuity of daughter and mother, but upon the cash income of father and brother. This in turn depended not only on skill, industry, and good farm management, but also on location, transportation, markets, and middleman competition, on soil fertility and size of holding, sometimes on shrewd buying and selling (trading). Social position based on wealth, dress, and expensive schooling became a handicap race in which some were discouraged from the start; others strove to keep up appearances even by going in debt.

A thing grows by what it feeds upon. Putting emphasis on style and "appearance" further stimulated man's desire to get wealthy, thereby "feeding a rapacity which can never be satisfied."¹³⁴ John Taylor in his day raised the question:

What will be the effect of an aristocracy whose soul is avarice and ambition upon personal ideals and national welfare? His answer was that such a value system would "encourage idleness, teach swindling, ruin individuals, and destroy morals."¹³⁵ Agriculture, based upon the principle that "as a man soweth, so shall he reap," cannot thrive in such a social environment.

Rural leaders like James M. Garnett of Virginia voiced their concern over what they saw happening in the young republic. As agriculturists require skill, industry, and economy to make them prosper, he told his own agricultural society at Fredericksburg, Virginia, so they must have sound morals and improved understanding to make them happy. Helping the farmer get improved methods is not the only need. He continued: If society aims "not less at exalting the moral qualifications of the agricultural class" than at "their improvement in all the various mechanical operations incidental to their professions," then it is right to assert and maintain their "just claims" to a worthy place in public esteem.¹³⁶ Evidently agriculturists were losing prestige even in the South.

In the North, kindred spirits were becoming vocal. Henry Colman admitted that agriculture could not be regarded as a road to riches; then, like the fox that couldn't reach the grapes, he added that money was "far from being one of the greatest goods of life."¹³⁷ A contributor to the *Genesee Farmer* voiced the need for agricultural mentors and editors who were *practical* men, not pedants.¹³⁸ And the "Country Farmer," urging self-respect and self-dependence, wanted new leaders who were farmers: "There is no such thing . . . as leading Farmers in a career of Agriculture without Farmers for leaders."¹³⁹

Thus in the quarter-century 1807-32, the movement to improve farming and farm life in America made significant strides forward: county agricultural societies with annual fairs beginning to reach dirt farmers; periodicals to serve the farmer's interests; attempts to set up new types of schools adapted to training farm boys for farming. There was a

growing spirit of frontier democracy. But making themselves felt at the same time were the beginnings of parasitical protectionist and financial systems that were to be burdens on the backs of agriculturists for a hundred years! Also visible were incipient efforts to cultivate a taste for beauty and an appreciation of nature to offset the pecuniary and social lures of town life, and the first signs of a vocational class consciousness.

Chapter 4

A NEW LEADERSHIP DEVELOPS: 1833-1852

The double-decade beginning in 1833 witnessed the appearance of new rural leaders, experienced in farming, who could speak and write with authority in the field of scientific farming. Two of these, one in the North and one in the South, began editing farm periodicals in 1833-34. The influence they gained is a testimony both to the ability and service of the men, and to the good judgment of dirt farmers in general.

The Southerner, Edmund Ruffin, publisher of the *Farmers Register*, came to his new undertaking after twenty years of practical and experimental farming. The year before Skinner began publishing the newspaper that evolved into a farm periodical, Ruffin presented to the Prince George County Agricultural Society of Virginia the results of his experiments with marl. By 1832 the record of his experience had grown into a good-sized book, *An Essay on Calcareous Manures*.

Nor were his interests limited to the field-production aspects of farming. "The causes of the depression of agriculture in Virginia," he told the readers of his first *Register*, "are many—political and moral as well as physical—all of which deserve thorough investigation." Ruffin hoped to make his publication serve as a means of communication among farmers: one could ask information and another supply it. Through its pages mechanics might tell of new inventions; housewives might offer advice on the kitchen garden, the

dairy, poultry, and "every branch of domestic economy."¹ Merchants could tell of the difficulties of marketing farm produce, and "lawyers might teach us how to seek relief from the many parts of our legal policy which seem to lessen the profits and oppose the improvement of agriculture."² The editor urged all correspondents to write in "plain style" and to sign their real names.

Although the first number of Ruffin's *Register*, like most of the later ones, was filled chiefly with articles on the scientific and agricultural aspects of farming, the first issue devoted some space to the problem that was later to divide the agriculturists of the nation into two hostile camps. There were reviews of two articles on slavery: the one stressing the economic evils of the system, and the other pointing out the inefficiency and ruinous cost of any means proposed for freeing the slaves.³ Like other agricultural editors later, Ruffin sought to keep his "frail bark" off this sea of controversy. The settlement of so distracting a question, he urged, called for giving "due consideration to the opinions of our antagonists as well as to those of our own side." And in this spirit of tolerance and compromise he invited the attention of his readers to both articles.⁴

There were occasionally articles in the *Register* dealing with social aspects of rural life, but most of its pages were given to discussion of the technical or economic aspects of agriculture. One of the occasional articles was a reprinted account of Fellenberg's experiment in education at Hofwyl, Switzerland.⁵ Another issue carried a reprint from the *Annals of Education*, which discussed the "Manual Labor Department of Lane Seminary."⁶

Ruffin knew that an enduring agriculture must be based on a sound economy; he knew also that economics is not all of rural life. Here are his own words on this matter:

Although the desire for gain is a principal and most necessary inducement to follow the plough, yet all must admit that he who sees no other pleasure in agri-

culture than that which results from the anticipation of pecuniary profits arising therefrom, is to say the least, a *grovelling* and *penurious* wretch. There is something really mean and sordid in overlooking all the beauties of the vernal spring, and the maturing loveliness of autumn, merely to contemplate the amount of *dollars* to be received from the daily toil and anxious solicitude of the farmer.⁷

Ruffin's views on economics show the influence of John Taylor. His thinking led him to give considerable attention to banking reform; so much in fact that his biographer attributed the failure of the *Farmers Register* to Ruffin's activity in this field. Perhaps the failure may have been due in part to the fact that he was not able to preserve the attitude of tolerance and impartiality on the slavery issue: "the sectional conflict of the 1840's closed his hitherto open mind."⁸ This may have affected his appeal to Northern readers; the South did not have as large a number of literate, alert, dirt farmers, among whom a subscriber clientele might be found.

The other experienced agriculturist who began publication in 1833-34 was Jesse Buel of Albany, New York. Buel was born on a farm in 1778, and was ten years older than Skinner. He had only a few months schooling and was apprenticed to a printer at an early age. Later he edited the Kingston [New York] *Plebeian* for a number of years; then moved to Albany in 1813 and established the *Argus*. His interest in agriculture was shown by his giving space in these publications to agricultural articles—Armstrong's "A Treatise on Agriculture," reprinted by both Skinner and Southwick, first appeared in the *Argus*. Buel evidently had political connections even as Skinner did, for he was state printer from 1814 to 1821. But the year Skinner started the *American Farmer*, Buel left the printing business and moved onto a farm. "That he might better exhibit the effects of intelligence in the improvement of the soil," he bought some land in the sandy barrens west of Albany, "a most forbidding tract"

which looked as if "doomed to everlasting sterility." By practicing the best agricultural methods of the day he improved the land until within a few years it was known for its fertility and productivity.⁹ His interest and ability in agriculture were recognized by his election as recording secretary of the New York State Agricultural Society, incorporated in 1832.¹⁰

In 1834—the year Skinner sold his weekly four-dollar-a-year *American Farmer* in order to give his spare time to publishing a race-horse journal—Buel, under the auspices of the New York Agricultural Society, began publishing *The Cultivator* monthly at twenty-five cents a year. At the request of the society he took the paper into his own hands the second year and conducted it till his death in 1838. To offset the financial loss sustained the first year, the publisher raised the subscription price to fifty cents. Beginning with volume five, the paper was increased in size and the price raised to one dollar.¹¹ The subscription price is significant because, in a paper carrying practically no advertising, the low price indicates the project was not primarily profit-motivated.¹² The purpose of *The Cultivator*, as given in its heading, was "To Improve the Soil and the Mind." It would aim, the editor told his readers, to render the farmer's labor "more profitable and more respectable; to produce system and economy upon the farm," and perhaps even more important from the country-life point of view, to promote "intelligence, virtue, and happiness in the domestic circle."¹³

Buel understood that the practical farmer's contempt for much of so-called "book farming" was due to "many crude publications of inexperienced persons," whose recommendations led only to financial loss and disappointment, thereby injuring the cause of agricultural improvement; on the other hand, he counselled his readers that not all works on agriculture were of that character.¹⁴ Like Ruffin, he sought to help sift the wheat from the chaff of agricultural writings.¹⁵

Buel's interest included whatever would help rural life. He championed the cause of better schools, common school

libraries, and agricultural education.¹⁶ He criticized existing literary educational institutions as not aiming to train pupils to live by labor but to live without labor, and insisted that education should be for "the whole man—the USEFUL man."¹⁷ The United States, he said in one editorial, had eighty-eight colleges, twelve law schools, ninety-six medical seminaries, thirty divinity schools, and around a thousand academies to train youth for the learned professions, but not a single college, seminary or school for the particular benefit of the other ninety-five per cent of the population, "the farmers and mechanics who earn our wealth, pay our taxes, and fight our battles."¹⁸

As Buel viewed the situation, the farmer's lack of suitable educational institutions was not the sole cause of the unsatisfactory condition of agriculturists. Another cause was the low esteem in which farming was held by all classes, including the farmers themselves.¹⁹ Buel was a leader in upholding the democratic and Christian ideal that people of "elevated rank" might engage in the cultivation of the soil without descending from their station.²⁰ He knew also that slavery and its defenders opposed his ideal. In discussing the possible establishment of a national agricultural school near the national capital with part of the Smithsonian bequest, he suggested that Washington would not be a good location for such an institution. His reason: "We doubt if practical agriculture can be taught well where agricultural labor is considered rather a servile employment."²¹

Buel's attitude, however, was not that of the narrow partisan, whether as against slavery or in behalf of agriculture. One of the last articles he edited was on "Our Country—Our Whole Country." Therein he pointed out the interdependence of all vocational groups, explaining that the interests of each class and each individual are so interwoven with those of others that they best serve their own interests when, "sub-serving" their own good, "they endeavor to promote the welfare of all, of every class and individual."²² On the other hand he did not like agriculturists' "passive, degrading ac-

quiescence in total neglect." He wanted farmers to be "intelligent, prosperous, high-principled men—who know their rights and their duties, and . . . fearlessly assert the one and faithfully perform the other." Only so, he concluded, can the nation become "rich in all elements of human happiness." ²³

Buel's interests included the movement for better health, then just beginning. In an unsigned article, "Hints on Health," apparently by the editor, readers were urged to reflect on diet "as the principal, if not the sole cause" of the diseases from which all were "more or less sufferers." Unfortunately, people then—even as now—attributed their ailments "to weather, to infection, to hereditary descent, to spontaneous breeding, as if a disease could originate without a cause; or to any frivolous imaginary source, without suspecting, or being willing to own, mismanagement of . . . [them]selves." ²⁴

In his last prepared address Buel diagnosed the disease from which America still suffers: he bemoaned "the inordinate thirst for acquiring wealth . . . through . . . speculation," and maintained that the man who provides for the wants and comforts of himself and his family and who serves society by productive labor, mental and physical, "will ultimately be rewarded in the conscious rectitude of his life by a greater measure of substantial happiness" than will the one who makes millions through fraud and speculation. ²⁵

The high quality of Buel's influence may be judged by a number of factors. Although there were approximately twenty agricultural journals in the nation, *The Cultivator* in its fifth year had about twenty per cent of the total number of subscribers—which has been estimated at a hundred thousand. ²⁶ The printed list of his paper's agents in 1839 included representatives from every state east of the Mississippi River except Mississippi, from three states and territories west of it, and from Canada—a total of 869 names. His agricultural teachings, brought together in *The Farmer's Companion* (1839),

went through six editions by 1847 and were still being reprinted in 1863, twenty-five years after the author's death. Farm papers started in Boston (1839), Augusta, Georgia (1843), and Columbus, Ohio (1845), took "Cultivator" as part of their name. The Augusta paper's stated purpose shows Buel's influence: "To improve the mind and elevate the character of the tillers of the soil."²⁷ Three other publications, the [Nashville] *Agriculturist*, the *Southwestern Farmer*, and *The Farm and Fireside* adopted the motto of Buel's *Cultivator* as their own: "To improve the soil and the mind."²⁸ He was recognized, too, by being made honorary member of local and state societies, and corresponding member of two societies in Europe.²⁹

Among other leaders who made important contributions to the cause of a better rural life in this period was Henry Colman, a Unitarian minister. In 1837 he was appointed to make an agricultural survey of Massachusetts. While thus engaged, he got the friends of agriculture in the Massachusetts legislature together for weekly meetings, which he attended and reported to the press.³⁰ Getting legislators together to consider farmers' problems commended itself to other states.³¹

Colman's concern included the social, political and moral aspects of rural life. In 1843, encouraged by county, state, and national agricultural societies, he made an agricultural tour of European countries, the accounts of which were published in London and Boston and sold by subscription. The reports described agricultural practices abroad, the conditions of rural people, and detailed accounts of agricultural schools visited.³²

He sought to remove "science" as applied to agriculture from the realm of fetish. "We talk of uniting science with agriculture," he wrote in the introduction to his first report, when as a matter of fact the two were united "years and years ago." In recognition of the contributions of practical farmers, he went on to state that many men, hardly literate,

were "profound observers of nature" and might be called "scientific farmers." The principles of vegetable and animal growth, nourishment, and decay, he explained, are part of those "fixed laws and determinate forces whose operation is universal and invariable." Any active, observing mind may become familiar with many of these laws, although ignorant of the alphabet of science and unschooled in philosophy.³³

His philosophy and the background out of which it grew, are revealed in the preface to the last section of his twelve hundred pages of reports:

I have followed the plow many a day with a freedom and buoyancy of spirit which seemed to have no counterpart but among the winged denizens of the air . . . I have cast the dry seed into the teeming earth, and watched its first bursting above the ground, and its gradual progress to maturity . . . with a grateful and . . . religious elevation of soul which no language could adequately describe.³⁴

Thus did Henry Colman, evidently a spiritual disciple of the author of *Thanatopsis*, seek to inspire in others his own love of nature. "To live in the country, and enjoy all its pleasures, we should love the country."³⁵

He admitted that agriculture, pursued as a mere means of getting wealth, would have influences upon the mind "corresponding with any other of the pursuits of mere avarice or acquisition." To the criticism that agriculture was a "material and sensual" art, "undeserving" of a place among the humane arts, he replied that to a mind engrossed in the material and sensual, everything appears material and sensual; a spiritual mind, on the other hand, may spiritualize all the operations of agriculture.³⁶

As regards horticultural improvements:

When a man asks me what is the use of shrubs and flowers, my first impulse is always to look under his

hat and see the length of his ears. I am heartily sick of measuring everything by a standard of mere utility and profit.

He did not, however, hesitate to justify the usefulness of beauty. How better can we strengthen the domestic affections, "of all others the most favorable to virtue," than to make our homes as attractive as we can? ³⁷

Regretfully Colman saw "thousands and thousands of young men, blest with education and fortunes adequate to supply all reasonable wants in the country, rushing into cities," exhausting their small fortunes in fashion and extravagance, overcrowding the professions, engaging in the bitter strife of political controversy, and "in one form or another, dragging on through life without satisfaction to themselves and without usefulness to others." ³⁸ The cause of such evils, both in America and in Europe, was the "entirely false assumption, which everywhere fixes itself in men's minds, that pecuniary wealth is the true standard of prosperity." ³⁹ This belief was, he held, a product of city life, for in cities, "money is the instrument of subsistence, of gain, and of pleasure." Under such circumstances "avarice . . . becomes stimulated to excess. . . . Men's happiness becomes dependent upon that which has no intrinsic, but only an arbitrary value—a value . . . capricious and continually changing." Accepting this standard of value, young people crowded into cities only to find "the grave of their health, hopes, happiness and virtue." ⁴⁰

Perhaps no single item in his accounts of European agriculture was more frequently repeated later, or exerted more influence on his readers, than his "pencil sketch" of the English gentlewoman who, although refined and cultured, could talk intelligently about all the operations of a farm and did not feel that such things were beneath a "lady's" notice. Many rural Americans did not believe in education for girls. Those who did naturally welcomed Colman's sketch of this "English gentlewoman" as an ideal to offset the ideal

then too commonly held by the products of girls' boarding schools.⁴¹

It would be hard to estimate the influence of the more than 2,750 copies of Colman's *European Agriculture* "Reports." Of course the bulk of them went to New England and New York subscribers, but the others were scattered among readers from Maine to Louisiana and from South Carolina to Iowa. The list included notables such as Millard Fillmore, John C. Calhoun, William H. Seward, and Henry Ellsworth. Agricultural editors whose names were listed were Luther Tucker, Willis Gaylord, Thomas Affleck, Martin W. Phillips, as well as Andrew J. Downing, soon-to-be editor of *The Horticulturist* (1846-1852).

Certainly Colman must have furnished the material for many agricultural society addresses and essays in the next decade or two, not to mention ideas for those conducting agricultural journals. Sometimes he was given credit by editors, writers and speakers,⁴² but sometimes this indebtedness was not acknowledged.⁴³ Evidently his ideals met with favor among rural people and their farmer editors and speakers.

Another leader of this period was Ezekiel Holmes, doctor, educator, editor, who founded the [Kennebec] *Maine Farmer*. Trained in medicine and "widely versed in the natural sciences of his time," Holmes was instructor of agriculture, and later principal, at Gardiner Lyceum.⁴⁴ After the school closed, he took up agricultural journalism as a means of serving farmers' interests. The fact that his paper continued for thirty years indicates that his leadership was accepted even though he was a professional man originally. He helped establish the Maine Board of Agriculture, of which he was secretary from 1852-1855, and the Maine Agricultural Society.

There were other editor-leaders in this period, and other publications. Willis Gaylord, onetime editor of the *Genesee Farmer* and then editor of the *Cultivator* after Buel's death, was approved by farmers as one who practiced what he "preached" through his writings. The continuing success of

the *Cultivator* made it easier to establish other farm periodicals in the late 1830's and 1840's. These included the *Farmer's Cabinet*, Philadelphia, 1836; the *Boston Cultivator*, 1839; the *Western Farmer and Gardener*, Cincinnati, 1839; the *Prairie Farmer*, Chicago, 1840; the [Nashville] *Agriculturist*, 1840; the *Southern Planter*, Richmond, Virginia, 1841; the *American Agriculturist*, New York, 1842; the *Southern Cultivator*, Augusta, Georgia, 1843; the *Southwestern Farmer*, Raymond, Mississippi, 1842-1844; the *Ohio Cultivator*, Columbus, Ohio, 1845; and the *North Carolina Farmer*, Raleigh, 1845. Of these, the editors of at least four, all located in the South, should be characterized as followers of Buel as well as Ruffin.

Perhaps the most outstanding of these Southern leaders was Tolbert Fannin, son of a poor cotton farmer, who managed by the time he was twenty-five to graduate from Nashville College (1835). After some evangelistic work in association with Alexander Campbell (1836), he gave his chief interest to education. At first he was associated with his wife in conducting a school for girls. Then in 1840 Fannin and three others founded the [Nashville] *Agriculturist*, devoted like Buel's *Cultivator* to the "improvement of the soil and the mind." Although junior editor, Fannin was the guiding spirit of the publication.

The educational ideas and ideals of this evangelist-editor-teacher are of interest as revelations of the new leaven at work in the western, more democratic, South. The source of some of these ideals, so far as Fannin's advocacy of them is concerned, may be traced to D. Phillip Lindley, president of Nashville College when Fannin was a student. At the time of Lindley's inaugural in 1825, he was evidently a great admirer of the Fellenberg school in Switzerland. At Hofwyl, said he, "The body, the mind, and the heart receive their due proportion of care and improvement. There is no idleness, no dissipation, no extravagance, no effeminacy, no sacrifice of time, money, health, or morals. All is life, vigor, animation, order, industry." ⁴⁵

One of Fannin's cardinal principles was that "universal education of a proper kind can alone improve the physical, intellectual, and moral condition of the world." The "idea that the life of an educated man must be spent at books," however, he held to be fallacious, for such education was out of the reach of the working class. Farmers and mechanics together, said he, make up seven eighths of the population and produce "all the necessities and luxuries of life." The problem was to devise a system of education that would put labor on an equal footing with the "opulent." The chief obstacle: those who labor for a living were not respected as being worthy to associate with those who lived without labor, and labor itself was looked upon as "dishonorable and detrimental to the highest culture."⁴⁶ Seeking to overcome this disrespect, Fannin cited examples of noted men in ancient Greece and Rome who labored. He also argued that agriculture and the mechanic arts were "among the richest resources of mental improvement," as evidenced by outstanding Americans such as President Monroe, the bricklayer; General Morgan, the wagoner; and especially Elihu Burritt, the learned blacksmith.⁴⁷ He said that men trained by Fellenberg were "esteemed superior in scholarship to men educated by a different system."⁴⁸ Fannin tried to carry out his ideas in his own manual-labor institution, Franklin College, near Nashville.⁴⁹

As regards education for girls, he believed they should be taught useful branches of science and inducted into "the responsible offices of domestic and social relationships instead of *ennui*, show, and empty and corrupting fashions." Too often, he averred, girls were "in stays" at eleven, interested in men at twelve, and married at thirteen; furthermore, the aim of their schooling was not something useful, but the name of having been in school at "such and such a place" for a certain length of time, or to have "graduated."⁵⁰ Girls, said he, should stay with their mothers and continue in school till eighteen or twenty.⁵¹

Fannin's democratic views found expression in the *Agri-*

culturist both through his own writings and through his choice of reprints, some of them from the North.⁵² According to the History of Davidson County, he continued his labors down to the Civil War, serving as editor of the *Agriculturist* and of a religious paper, as president of Franklin College, and supervisor of a well-patronized boarding school for girls.⁵³

Another Southern editor was James Camak, of the *Southern Cultivator*. This publication was edited during its first two years by one of the men who founded it; then, in 1845, Camak took charge. In one of his first editorials he promised to eschew party politics as "we would avoid pestilence";⁵⁴ however, he found it difficult to maintain an impartial point of view on the sectional strife growing up between North and South.⁵⁵ He was "alive to the importance of working a radical change" in the general agricultural practices of the South, but his special interest was in horticulture.

Although only fifty-two, Camak died before finishing his third year as editor, but he had made enough of a ripple on the sea of agricultural journalism to cause Solon Robinson,⁵⁶ on a tour of Georgia four years after Camak's death, to pay tribute to him as the editor of "that excellent agricultural paper, the *Southern Cultivator*."⁵⁷ His highest ambition, according to the author of the brief biographical account in the paper following his death, was "to contribute all in his power to the amelioration of mankind."⁵⁸

The third editor-leader worked in both North and South. He was Thomas Affleck, who came from Scotland in 1832 because of the agricultural opportunities to be found here. Junior editor of the *Western Farmer and Gardener* [Cincinnati] in 1840, he was an advocate of a national agricultural school and also of a national organization of farmers.⁵⁹

From 1842 to 1857 he lived in Mississippi and was one of the editors of the short-lived *Southwestern Farmer* [Raymond, Mississippi], 1842-1844. He was an advocate of diversified farming⁶⁰ and an experienced horticulturist. His commercial nursery of "fruits, shrubs, flowers, and plants,"

attracted the attention of Solon Robinson on one of his agricultural tours.⁶¹

The last of these four leaders, Martin W. Phillips, although one of the editors of the *Southwestern Farmer*,⁶² and of the [Albany] *Cultivator* for a few months after Gaylord's death,⁶³ was perhaps best known as an agricultural correspondent. Born in South Carolina, educated for medicine in Pennsylvania, Phillips became in the early 1830's an unusual type of Mississippi planter.⁶⁴ His voluminous correspondence from Log Hall, Hinds County, shows his interest in practically every aspect of Southern agriculture, including care of slaves, better implements, better livestock, more fruit trees and finer varieties, cowpeas, Bermuda grass, the cotton worm, and soil analysis. All these subjects were treated by his pen.⁶⁵ He bewailed the proneness of Americans to tell of some new, unestablished experiment through the agricultural papers, and recommended that a planter-correspondent, in order not to lead others astray, should state how many times he had tried the experiment, the type of land and kind of seed used, *et cetera*: "He cannot be too minutely exact."⁶⁶

In view of the health conditions still to be found in our nation, Dr. Phillips' views on hygiene are very interesting. His ideas, far in advance of those held by most physicians of his day, included attention to diet, rest, and limited hours of labor. He recommended giving slaves less meat (fat pork?), more fruit and vegetables the year round; also, that their owners "give them time to eat."⁶⁷ He directed his Negro hands, he wrote, to keep out of the rain and not to rise till day, even in winter. The women were "never allowed to carry cotton." He thought working slaves thirteen or fourteen hours a day was inefficient.⁶⁸

Although neighbors criticized him and his extravagant experiments,⁶⁹ one who believes in the power of ideas cannot but wish that more time had been allowed for the "leaven" to work in the South—and that the crusading reformers of New England, where textile operatives worked as many as fourteen hours a day, had used their zeal on evils closer at

hand. Solon Robinson, the only one found in this study who surpassed Phillips as an agricultural correspondent, characterized the doctor as a gentleman who had done more than any other man in the South toward the improvement of the soil and the mind.⁷⁰

Certain farmer-leaders of this period spoke from a platform less influential than that of an agricultural editorship. James M. Garnett, president of the short-lived National Agricultural Society (1841-1842) continued to speak and write in behalf of agricultural improvement (until his death in 1843), criticizing both those whose minds were "sealed against new truth," and those who had a passion for "humbugs and hobbyhorses."⁷¹ He maintained that farmers were handicapped both by lack of education and the wrong type of schooling. While a champion of the rights of agriculture, he made a plea that farmers should not look upon members of other professions with jealousy, for all are "necessary links in the great social chain that binds us all together."⁷² His election to the presidency of the national organization was recognition of his service and leadership, and whatever chance the prematurely born organization might have had died with him.

There were other farmer-leaders. Working at his "life-work" in Burlington County, New Jersey, was "model farmer" Isaac Newton, who later became first Commissioner of Agriculture (1862).⁷³ Near Geneva, New York, lived John Johnston, a good practical farmer from England and exponent of tile drainage.⁷⁴ Near-by was John Delafield, ex-banker, who after 1839 identified himself with the farm group.⁷⁵ Many, many others left their names—or initials—in the agricultural publications of the day. Still others, not agricultural correspondents, were striving to "prove all things and hold fast that which is good."

Still another type of leader was Solon Robinson, "pioneer, peddler, and agricultural journalist,"⁷⁶ who might be called a traveling ambassador of good will among farmers of different areas. Like Arthur Young, Robinson himself evidently

had little claim to success in farming, and admitted the fact.⁷⁷ Two volumes of his letters, however, afford a very valuable contemporaneous account of agricultural and social conditions in the sections he visited. His personality was such that he found welcome in North and South alike,⁷⁸ and his frank comments on conditions as he saw them—whether on Indiana roads, stockbreeding around Cincinnati, fairs in the Midwest, or the outlook for agricultural aid in Washington—were printed and often reprinted by editors of farm papers.

Robinson's accounts of conditions among plantation owners in the South enable one to see how desperate their plight must have appeared to many of them. As one reads the letters,⁷⁸ two thoughts arise. First, it seems a terrible misfortune that there was so little travel by Northern agriculturists to the South before the Civil War, and hence so little understanding of Southern problems. Second, much of the poverty of the South in the second half of the nineteenth century, not infrequently attributed to the effects of the war, was evidently due to economic and agricultural causes that existed before the war—and continued for years after it.

While some of the problems confronting farmers in the 1830's and 1840's were such as individuals could work out alone, there were others that required cooperation. What was the status of agricultural organizations in this period?

As pointed out above,⁷⁹ few agricultural societies kept going when the legislative aid that had stimulated their organization was withdrawn; the comparatively few that did survive were generally those that had been organized without state aid, such as the one in Jefferson County, New York, or that in Hamilton County, Ohio. Massachusetts did not withdraw aid and county societies there lived on. Legislative grants in Ohio in 1835 and in New York in 1841 stimulated organization in those states. By 1840 there were fifteen societies in Ohio and thirty in New York.⁸⁰

A few organizations above the county level were being set up. A state society was organized in South Carolina in

1839.⁸¹ In New York, the state society established in 1832, which barely existed till 1840,⁸² was in that year reorganized. Some idea of the live state and county organizations may be gained from the *American Agriculturist's* "Directory for Fairs in 1843." This listed only four state fairs (New York, Rhode Island, Alabama, and Tennessee); forty-one county fairs, twenty-nine of which were in New York; three that might be called district fairs; and one held by the American Institute, New York City.⁸³

Although county societies were growing in number and some leaders recognized the need of state and national organizations, the farm group had little influence at the nation's capital. The attitude of official Washington towards agriculture may be seen in Henry L. Ellsworth's Patent Office *Report* for 1838, in which he wrote that while much had been done to aid commerce and manufacturing, husbandry seemed to be looked upon as a natural blessing that needed no aid from legislation. Declaring that men bringing in models of their improvements in agricultural implements were "eager to communicate a knowledge of every kind of improvement in agriculture," especially new seeds and plants, Ellsworth asked Congress to appropriate five thousand dollars to care for this matter.⁸⁴ For such encouragement of the nation's greatest industry, Congress, then in its fiftieth year, voted the sum of one thousand dollars.⁸⁵ This situation, taken together with the agricultural society figures, enables one to anticipate the outcome of the efforts to organize a national society in 1841.

Credit for the first suggestion to form an American society of agriculture is given to Solon Robinson for a letter dated May, 1839.⁸⁶ The suggestion of "the pioneer in that great undertaking"⁸⁷ was responded to with "hearty good will" but action was "overwhelmed by the political whirlwind that swept over the country" at that time.⁸⁸ Robinson broached the subject again in 1841; through the medium of the agricultural press⁸⁹ and through personal contacts made

on his agricultural tour that year, the project found some support. At a preliminary meeting held in Washington, at which Robinson presided, resolutions were adopted declaring that the interest of agriculture require the formation of such a society. At a later meeting, December 8, James M. Garnett, of Virginia, Benjamin V. French, of Massachusetts, and Dixon H. Lewis, of Alabama, were appointed to prepare a draft of a constitution.⁹⁰ December 15, 1841, the National Agricultural Society was organized with James M. Garnett as president and John M. Skinner as corresponding secretary.⁹¹

At this organization meeting, besides the president's address and the adoption of a constitution, the one important item of business was the passing of a resolution favoring a petition to Congress "to set apart the Smithsonian bequest for the purpose of carrying out the objects of this society," especially the establishment of an agricultural school.⁹² Perhaps the hope of getting this fund for their cause, together with the enthusiasm of a few, explain why the organization was set up at this time.⁹³

At a second meeting of the society, held in May, 1842, one committee brought in a favorable report regarding the establishment of a publication, but specified that the project should not involve any expense to the organization.⁹⁴ A second committee report recommended calling a meeting of representatives to meet in Washington to plan for a national cattle show and agricultural exhibition.⁹⁵ Garnett was re-elected president, but he died within the year, and the hope for a continuing national organization of agriculturists had to wait another decade for realization.⁹⁶

In Ohio and New York roots that would support a national society were growing rapidly in the 1842-1852 decade. The number of county societies in Ohio doubled; they showed a "phenomenal growth" in New York after 1846.⁹⁷ In Georgia, on the other hand, there was not even a legislative committee, and one farmer-legislator said he regarded legislative aid as a "wanton waste of public money"

until farmers were interested enough to help themselves.⁹⁸ Perhaps he was referring to the hesitancy of some farmers to invest a dollar a year in agricultural society dues.

The relation of legislative grants to county organizations merits consideration. Self-supporting societies appear to have been the exception. Raising funds for premiums and fair expenses was a problem. Perhaps the awarding of ribbons would have secured as good response as cash premiums, and roused less envy. This would have obviated the raising of a large premium fund. It is easy to understand that a farmer who handled only three hundred to four hundred dollars a year would part with a dollar quite as reluctantly as a merchant handling ten thousand dollars would part with fifty dollars for a cause that would bring him no cash return. Since holding the annual county fair was the chief function of the county society, it is easy to understand how the number of societies rose and fell as legislative funds for premiums rose and fell.

Advocates of county fairs stressed their educational and social values.⁹⁹ In some newer communities of the Midwest, some of the social attractions were lacking. James Lane Allen, writing later about fairs in Kentucky before the Civil War, says that not until about 1840 did these annual occasions begin to "touch the heart of the whole people." His explanation in part was that "for some twenty years after the institution of the fair, no woman put her foot upon the fair grounds."¹⁰⁰ Ladies' attendance in sections of Ohio and Illinois was a matter of note for a decade after 1840.¹⁰¹

Perhaps the reluctance of the fair sex to attend is explained by references that compare the fair, for excitement, with militia training and "the demonstration that was said to be inseparable from it."¹⁰² In 1852, one observer contrasted the pleasant assembling of farmers and their families with what formerly transpired at the "general muster." "Who does not remember," he wrote, "that after exercising the cornstalk" [in place of a rifle?] "there came the row, the black eye and bloody nose, and after that—away down in the small

hours, the [men's] return home chock-full of whiskey and patriotism." ¹⁰³ In sections where county gatherings had such a reputation it would require several years for fairs to become really respectable.

Even at its best, however, the county fair had the limitations that any organization emphasizing one big yearly spectacle would have. In the first place, it might be turned into a crowd-drawing, money-raising occasion for the benefit of those who made their living by selling something, whether local merchants, agricultural implement agents, or vendors of candy and pink lemonade.¹⁰⁴ Secondly, the fair did not offer, except possibly for a few officers, opportunity for frequent face-to-face meetings, such as the development of smaller, more local groups would provide.

The organization of smaller, township or district societies had been suggested in Pennsylvania in 1794. The second quarter of the nineteenth century saw the beginnings of such units. The origin of the Farmers' clubs, as they were called, is not too clear. The first functioning of such a group noted was in Hillsborough County, New Hampshire. Daniel Adams, in his presidential address to the county society, in September, 1826, said he believed that "meetings for the discussion of plain, practical subjects relative to our occupation as farmers, might be both interesting and useful," and proposed them to subcommittees "with instructions to call such a meeting." While only a few were held, he continued, "the high degree of satisfaction or evident utility in which these meetings resulted" led him to "press the subject more strenuously on the attention of the Society." ¹⁰⁵

Two years later a writer to the *New England Farmer* ¹⁰⁶ mentioned the instruction and pleasure he had received "a winter or two since, at weekly meetings with a few practical farmers." He connected the idea with the American Lyceum, suggesting adaptation, and expressed the hope that in every town in New England farmers would give a few autumn and winter evenings to aiding each other in the improvement of mind, heart and farm. Weekly social gatherings would bene-

fit not only farmers but their sons and daughters also, he urged.

Other "farmers' lyceums,"¹⁰⁷ or "social lyceums," were mentioned in the agricultural press, and always favorably. One writer stated that he had never received half the instruction or entertainment from agricultural societies of county or state "as from these social and informal meetings among a few neighbors, and of such a character as could easily be sustained in any town or neighborhood in the country."¹⁰⁸ To stimulate formation of such clubs in New York, the suggestion was made that the transactions of the state agricultural society be placed in the school library in each district.¹⁰⁹ The first farmers' club in Georgia was organized in 1845.¹¹⁰ By 1846 farmers' clubs, town associations, or district societies were reported in existence in three New York counties, one Massachusetts county, and seven Ohio counties.¹¹¹

The term "farmers' club" was used for a variety of organizations with a variety of programs. The Vernon, Oneida County [New York], club held a fair with a program somewhat like that of the original Berkshire County Fair.¹¹² The Oberlin [Ohio] Town Agricultural Society¹¹³ held monthly meetings with music and addresses. The leadership of the North Stockbridge [Massachusetts] Farmers' Club was evidently taken by professional men, for in the beginning "many thought the whole affair a useless innovation—something got up by the lawyer and doctor to secure their own popularity."¹¹⁴ The Rockingham Farmers' Club of Exeter, New Hampshire, put out a printed report which was quoted at considerable length in the June, 1849, *Horticulturist*.

As the clubs increased in number, so did the reasons urged for forming such organizations: these included educational values, more social intercourse among farmers, moral advancement, enjoyment and recreation.¹¹⁵ One enthusiast recommended organization of town associations or school district meetings in every county and town of his state as a means of rousing farmers to the "dignity and importance" of their calling.¹¹⁶

It is obvious that the development of such local units together with the increase in county and state organizations would, if continued, provide the necessary sustaining roots for a strong national organization of farmers, which, in turn, would cause agriculture to receive political consideration. But in the meantime, Congress proceeded to appropriate a pittance of from one thousand to five thousand dollars a year for the "agriculture department," which, according to the Honorable Eben Newton, was housed in "the cellar of the Patent Office," where it could not be found at midday without a candle. The staff consisted of a single clerk attached to the office of Commissioner of Patents. There in his "cellar" office the clerk struggled to get up a report, of which four hundred copies would be printed for each hundred thousand of the population. Representative Newton concluded with some telling figures: Congressional appropriations for agriculture during the first seventy-five years of life of a predominantly agricultural nation, with eighteen million people interested in the great industry, amounted to the grand total of *twenty-nine thousand dollars!*¹¹⁷

Evidently there was just cause for the editor of the *Horticulturist* to write that "the more active minds of the country at large" were strikingly "ignorant of the condition of agriculture in all the older states."¹¹⁸ The hopeful aspect of the situation—as this same pen had pointed out one year before—was that the "giant that tills the soil . . . [was] gradually waking into conscious activity."¹¹⁹ With new farmer-leaders, better farm journals, more county and state organizations, and the new farmers clubs, there were "ten thousand voices echoing back from every quarter" to the practical-farmer leadership of a growing farmers' movement¹²⁰ which eventually was to secure a Department of Agriculture, land-grant colleges, and a better chance to realize more of the possibilities of farming as a way of life.

Chapter 5

ANDREW JACKSON DOWNING— LEADER OF LEADERS

The greatest leader of the agrarian movement at mid-century, the one who probably did more than anyone else to rouse the sleeping "giant that tills the soil," was Andrew Jackson Downing. This man, in whom the poet's eye was mingled with the philosopher's mind,¹ was America's first great landscape architect, but it was as horticulturist and editor that he won influence among rural people.

A precocious lad, Downing finished his formal education at sixteen. The father having died when he was seven, family finances did not permit his going to college. Since he had to work, his mother wished to apprentice him as a genteel dry-goods clerk. Downing refused, however, and chose to work with his brother in the nursery their father had established at Newburgh, New York.

Downing's education did not end with his schooling. In connection with the nursery work there were trips to country seats or estates along the Hudson; and the associations with friends he met there, such as Baron Liderer, the Austrian consul, and Raphael Hoyle, the English artist,² undoubtedly had an important influence on his developing life. The young horticulturist also found time "to read the poets and philosophers, and to gain the familiarity with elegant literature which . . . [later] graced his own compositions."³

The nursery work, the conversations with friends, the reading, all undoubtedly contributed to produce the "noble and acutely discriminating spirit" and the "critically sagacious

intellect”⁴ that Frederika Bremer, of Sweden, met on her visit to America in 1849. She was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Downing at their home on the Hudson. There, in the house which he had designed, built and landscaped, the discerning European visitor found “a decided and thorough individuality of character” which had impressed itself on all its surroundings.⁵

Downing’s individuality, spirit and intellect appear to have made a comparable impression on the readers of his books and editorials. His first work, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, was published in 1841, when the author was only twenty-six; yet it won immediate recognition in the United States and abroad.⁶ In *Cottage Residences*,⁷ brought out the following year, the principles of landscaping and good design were applied to homes of the working class. This won acclaim from agricultural editors and others. His third work in this field was *The Architecture of Country Houses*,⁸ including designs for cottages, farmhouses and villas. These books won for him a position of leadership in the field of landscape architecture, as is indicated by the fact that in 1851 he was invited by the President of the United States to landscape the grounds of the Capitol, the White House, and the Smithsonian Institution.⁹

Downing’s achievement had its setting. “It happens,” he modestly told Miss Bremer, “that I came at a time when people began universally to feel the necessity of information about building houses and laying out gardens.”¹⁰ This was true in the older sections of the country. Americans had begun to criticize the apparent lack of taste and to urge that lawns, flowers, shade trees, orchards, a greater variety of fruits and vegetables—all had a contribution to make;¹¹ and at least a few were showing interest in rural architecture.¹² At a time when, according to one critic, people were building country houses featuring porticos, green blinds, a big barn and outbuildings in the rear, and perhaps a cabbage patch and a few hollyhocks or sunflowers in front, and the whole

surrounded by a rail fence,¹³ what they evidently needed was "not so much impulse as right direction,"¹⁴ and this is what Downing, the apostle of good taste, strove to help them get.

Important as Downing's books and work in the field of landscaping and architecture may have been, these would hardly have won for him a wide following among rural people. He reached them through another medium. In 1845 a work entitled *Fruit and Fruit Trees of America*,¹⁵ in which he collaborated with his brother, was published. The next year Luther Tucker asked him to become editor of a new magazine he was establishing, *The Horticulturist*. Through this periodical his ideas and ideals, set forth in the form of editorials, or "monthly leaders," had wide circulation and won for him a large following of friends and admirers.

What were these ideas and ideals? In his first editorial, instead of merely criticizing the lack of rural taste, Downing, with his characteristic sympathy and understanding,¹⁶ explained that the earlier settlers had to give their attention to physical necessities first; that provisions for comfort and convenience had to be met before people could give thought to grace and beauty.¹⁷ Then, true leader that he was, he accused the people of righteousness: "The patient toil of the pioneer and settler has no sooner fairly ceased than our people begin to enter with the same zeal and spirit into the refinements and enjoyments which belong to a country life and a country home."¹⁸

Making one's home more comfortable and more attractive will not only add to a man's enjoyment, wrote Downing, but it will also make him a better citizen. Increasing the beauty of the dwelling will strengthen the home ties of a man, and "love of country is inseparably connected with love of home."¹⁹ Furthermore, the taste that leads a family to cultivate beauty is a barrier against vice and immorality. Through it the heart is purified and man is bound more closely to his fellows. Finally, so closely is the beautiful allied to the true that people will find that as they come to love the grace, harmony and loveliness with which rural homes can be

invested, they are silently opening their hearts to Him whose words in the physical universe are written in lines of beauty.²⁰

By way of encouragement to people in humbler circumstances, Downing pointed out that wealth is not a prerequisite to taste: a log house may be as tasteful in its way as a palace. The one thing needed is a mind that feels the "mental pleasure of fitness and the mental pain of clumsiness."²¹ Lest people mistake display for good taste, the young architect counselled: "Do not attempt to give the modest little cottage the ambitious air of the ornate villa," nor pattern a farmhouse after the townhouse of a friend.²² "There is a peculiar beauty that belongs to each of these, and an expensive elaborate structure" will not give pleasure to the individual of "real taste" if it is inappropriate to the purpose, the means, or the position of the occupant.²³ Avoid unbecoming ornament, wrote Downing two years before John Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* appeared; give the cottage a "simple and pleasing character by the use of truthful means."²⁴

Some of Downing's readers misunderstood his appeals for simplicity and propriety in rural architecture. One critic asked why farmers should not have houses as "handsome" as other people's if they could afford them.²⁵ This query points up the rivalry developing between city and country in America. Downing was trying to prevent some of the consequences of this rivalry, especially as it affected rural architecture and rural well-being.

The farmer with his awkward ways, staring in the windows of Broadway and mistakenly admiring men who lived in fine houses or who rode in coaches with liveried servants; the city man dressed in the latest style visiting the country, pitying or despising those not so stylishly clad, and inquiring about spending the winter there as about a picnic on the borders of the Dead Sea; each mind, unable to grasp the other's outlook, contributed to misunderstanding. But these occasional meetings did not produce serious consequences.²⁶

When a townsman, however, built a pretentious house in

the country and came to reside there, continued Downing, then he became a real menace to rural ideals; "for there is always a certain influence about the mere possession of wealth that dazzles us, and makes us see things in a false light." The newcomer's example gave his country neighbors a sense of inferiority and they began imitating him until the whole community suffered an epidemic of "wealthful display." The "sins against good taste" that were being commonly committed were "building large parlours for display and small bedrooms for daily use," putting plate-glass windows and ornate stucco cornices on moderately priced cottages, and even putting the house so close to the road as to "destroy all seclusion and secure all possible dust." ²⁷

Realizing that rural people were tempted to sacrifice many minor comforts in their homes in order to imitate these practices, Downing made a plea for the *true taste* that is to be found "in the union of the beautiful and the significant." He held up the ideal of a cottage whose architecture, arrangement, furniture, and surroundings were all "in keeping with the country, with each other, and with their uses." He closed his strong editorial with a bit of philosophy that applies to many things besides architecture: "Though there are good models in town for town life, there are far better models in the country for country life." ²⁸

Downing wished to see rural churches and schoolhouses made attractive, too. The schoolhouse, instead of being a dingy, dilapidated building "placed in the barest and most forbidding site in the whole country round," surrounded with broken fences or tumble-down stone walls, and looking "as if every lover of good order and beauty in the neighborhood had abandoned it to the genius of desolation," ought to be such as would appeal to the sense of order and the "love of beauty implanted in every human mind," a "nest of verdure" which should inspire a taste for "lovely gardens, neat houses, and well-cultivated lands." There should be an ample playground where boys could expend their energy in sports. Another area should be devoted to flowers and trees,

which pupils would help care for. Such a school would implant a love of beauty, of home and of the country, a love of "all those pure and simple pleasures, which are, in later life—even if they exist only in the memory—a blessed panacea amid the dryness and dustiness of so many of the professional or vocational paths of life."²⁹

As for the place of worship, it should be "in its very forms and outlines, its walls and the vines that enwreathen them, its shady green and the elms that overhang it," such an environment as would minister to the human spirits gathered there even as did "the lessons of goodness and piety" emanating from the pulpit. Thus the church would become "a part of the affections," touching and bettering the heart of the whole community.³⁰

The two places where one might find attention being given to beauty, pointed out Downing the philosopher, were the cemetery and the mental institution.³¹ Nowhere were grounds "laid out with more care, adorned with more taste, filled with more lovely flowers, shrubs and trees." His philosophy and ideals carried over into life would have postponed for many the last long ride to the city of the dead and saved the fine intellect, "overtasked and wrecked in the too ardent pursuit of wealth and power," from confinement in the asylum.

Horticultural pursuits, he pointed out in his July, 1847, editorial, might help to allay the unrest which even then was one of the most noticeable traits of the nation, "making of man a feverish being, in whose Tantalus cup repose is the unattainable drop."³² Since he believed that "to amass and transmit great fortunes" was not good either for the community at large, or for the second generation that inherited the fortune, he strove through his gospel of beauty and good taste "to place before men more reasonable objects of ambition and to dignify and exalt their aims."³³

Like the Roosevelt Country Life Commission two generations later, Downing found things to criticize in the education of rural youth. It is unfortunate, he pointed out, that in the

United States the "idea of education is always affixed to something away from home." Parents too frequently shuffle off their responsibility for training "the heart and the social nature" of the child, believing that if the intellect is trained in school "the whole man is educated." The result is seen in "the miserably one-sided and incomplete character" of many talented men, who may be successful in their vocation or profession, but whose "only idea of society is display," and who miss three-fourths of the joys of life by never having been educated to use their "best social qualities—the qualities which teach a man how to love his neighbor as himself, and to throw the sunshine of a cultivated understanding and heart upon the trifling events and enjoyments of everyday life." ³⁴

With all his interest in ideals and taste, Downing was not unaware of the bad agricultural practices being carried on in all the older sections of the country. Having had firsthand experience with growing plants in the nursery, he knew the *dirt-y* side of agriculture. ³⁵ It was to him "a painful truth" that both the press and thoughtful men appeared unaware of what was happening to the nation's soil in all the older States. The farmers, he held, although not ignorant of it, didn't know how to remedy the situation growing out of the land-robbing system of tillage practiced by the majority since the early days of settlement. This system, to Downing's mind, explained alike the full tide of emigration westward, the exhausted soils of the East, and the slow progress of agriculture. ³⁶

Agricultural schools were the topic of one Downing editorial. He appreciated both the need of education for farming and the difficulty of getting it. One difficulty was that the farmer had been slow to demand benefits from government, as in his work he was obliged to trust so largely to Providence and nature. Another handicap was disagreement about the kind of schools needed. Half a dozen different groups each stressed a different *sine qua non*. Downing believed that since agriculture is "both a science and an art," the student needed

both theory and practice, both the knowledge that is in the books and the wisdom that comes from "knowledge put in action." Finally, he urged, "when a good plan [for an agricultural institution] is adopted, let it not be rendered of little value by being intrusted for execution to the hands of those who stand ready to devour the loaves and fishes of State patronage." ³⁷

Along with many others, Downing realized that agriculturists as a group lacked "a just appreciation" of their importance, their rights and their duties, and he sought to inspire in them more self-respect. Too long had they listened to "sermons, lectures and orations" from men who lived in cities and looked upon country life as "something for dull wits"; they needed, said he, apostles who drew their breath in green fields and who were "untrammelled by the schools of politics and trade." ³⁸

One *Horticulturist* editorial dealt with what today would be called "Community Planning." Criticizing the villages on the Hudson River twenty miles or more north of New York City, communities in which homes were built on fifty-foot lots along streets laid out at right angles, Downing sketched a model village of a permanently rural character: houses would be built on quarter-acre lots grouped around twenty to fifty acres of park or lawn, thereby insuring sufficient open space, view and fresh air. The park should be devoted to beauty, pleasure, music. On the streets radiating out from the park no lots smaller than one hundred feet in width should be sold. Such a village would afford "something more healthful than the ordinary life of cities and more refining and elevating than the common gossip of country villages." ³⁹

Despite the ever-recurring emphasis placed upon beauty and good taste in his editorials, Downing regarded these as symbols and means, not ends in themselves. If *Horticulturist* readers, he wrote, "suppose us anxious for the building of good houses, and the planting of street avenues, solely that the country may look more beautiful to the eye, and that the taste may be gratified, they do me an injustice." These

things, he continued, are "only the external sign[s] by which we would have the country's health and beauty known" ⁴⁰—like nature's rose that "blooms lastingly" on the cheeks of a healthy maiden.

To a "country mind" or a "real ruralite," ⁴¹ this brief sketch of the ideas and ideals of Downing is all that is needed to understand the widespread influence he gained among rural leaders—and followers—in little more than a decade. It is enough, too, to make clear the enormous sense of loss that was felt when this seer of rural life, this *see-er* of the purpose of living, died at thirty-seven, the victim of the insane competitive spirit against which he wished to safeguard his fellow countrymen. As he traveled down the Hudson, the steamer he was on, "racing desperately" with a competitor, caught fire.⁴² Among the victims, according to the *New York Tribune*, there was "none whom the country could so ill afford to lose or whose services to the community . . . [could] be so little replaced as Mr. Downing of Newburgh." The cessation of his editorials in *The Horticulturist*, continued this account, "will leave a permanent blank in the literature of the Domestic Arts. . . . An artist, a scholar and a gentleman, we deplore his untimely loss." ⁴³

"He is dead," wrote Marshall P. Wilder, president of the American Pomological Society, "yet how little of such men can perish!" ⁴⁴ His name may not appear in the political and ecclesiastical history of America," stated an editorial in *The Horticulturist*, "but in that unwritten history of social progress, in the councils of the fireside, which often stamp the character of the man upon the child—in the record . . . of future years we shall find he was the champion of 'a truth that woke to perish never.'" ⁴⁵

People appreciated Downing even in his short lifetime, using such phrases in praise of his books and editorials as "most excellent work," "unfeigned delight," and "above all praise." ⁴⁶ Others expressed admiration by quoting his writings.⁴⁷ He was elected an honorary member of agricultural associations and of "most of the horticultural societies in

the United States.”⁴⁸ His books won recognition abroad: he was “elected corresponding member of the Royal Botanic Society of London, of the horticultural societies of Berlin . . . and the low countries”; the queen of Denmark sent a ring to show her appreciation. However, his biographer wrote, “as the years slowly passed, a sweeter praise saluted him than the queen’s ring, namely, the gradual improvement of the national rural taste . . .”⁴⁹

There were other indications that the man and his work were appreciated. *Fruit and Fruit Trees of America* went through thirteen editions in seven years.⁵⁰ His editorials in *The Horticulturist* were brought together and published in 1853 as *Rural Essays*. Interest in horticulture increased, judging by the increase in societies and periodicals purporting to serve horticultural interests.⁵¹ Newly awakened interest in rural architecture is indicated by the appearance of works designed to compete with those of Downing.⁵² Perhaps the best indication of his wide influence is to be found in the “echoes” of his words in the agricultural articles and addresses in the decade following his death.⁵³

When one recalls that the greatest spiritual need found by the Roosevelt Country Life Commission in 1908 was higher personal and community ideals⁵⁴ and then appraises *Rural Essays*, one can appreciate the sense of tragic loss felt by other rural leaders when Downing died so prematurely. Editor, architect, lover of beauty, philosopher and seer of rural life, his drowning at thirty-seven appears to be the greatest loss sustained by the rural life forces of America before the Civil War. The only thing, in the opinion of the writer, that hurt the cause of rural culture more than his untimely death was that terrible four-year period of strife in the sixties, which tended to make people forget the ideals for which Downing had lived.

Chapter 6

PERSISTENT RURAL PROBLEMS: 1833-1852

In men like Downing, Buel, Ruffin, Colman and Fannin, the rural-life forces of America had able leaders, and others were developing, getting ready to play leading roles. The task to be accomplished, however, was an enormous one, what with the many persistent problems yet to be solved. In fact some problems grew worse as decades passed. One of these was the fertility-depleting methods of farming then generally practiced.

One-crop agriculture was being practiced in newer areas in both North and South, and farmers were still trying to live by it in areas where the soil was no longer new. Grain growers in western New York, for example, were at mid-century finding it difficult to compete with those farther west, even as areas farther east had once been unable to compete with them.¹ In such a situation a farmer had to improve and adapt his agricultural methods or else move to a section where monoculture, regardless of what it would do for future generations, would provide for his family for a few years or perhaps for the rest of his lifetime. The only other alternative was to impoverish the soil still further, and be impoverished by it in turn.

In the newer areas, pointed out a writer in the *New Englander* in the late fifties, agriculture consisted in "little more than a transfer from field to market of the accumulated treasure of the soil"—though by how much hard labor he may not have understood. It was, he said, comparable to the

excavation of guano or the plundering of an oysterbed, and so long as such deposits existed, science would be neglected.² A description of one Wisconsin wheat farmstead portrayed the type of desolation and indifference too frequently encountered where natural resources are wastefully exploited. It was located "upon a bleak prairie or hilltop, without even a tree to break the terrible force of a western wintry blast"; the stock shelter consisted of a low hovel shingled with straw, and "surrounded . . . with all the manure that . . . [had] ever fallen on the place, it still being thought easier in the end to move the barn than the manure."³

The ignorant farmer or the newcomer, the Wisconsin writer pointed out, might be forgiven such methods, but not the farmer of experience and means. The latter's excuse often was that he intended to move and could not get paid for his improvements, or that times had been hard, or prices low. Whatever the excuse or rationalization, such farming hurt the farmer and the farm.

In Eastern states worn-out farms were forsaken as have been some coal-mining camps in recent years. A correspondent spoke of the emigration from Maryland before 1839, when people sold buildings at less than cost and threw in the land, too.⁴ Fortunately for Maryland, he said, the "mania for migration to the South and West" had almost ceased.

The situation of the South, according to Edmund Ruffin, was what John Taylor had anticipated: "Arator" couldn't have better described conditions if he had been gifted with the ability to foresee future events. The lands were wasted; people couldn't be tied to their place of birth; the only progress was a "progress of emigration"—all of which resulted in an exhausted country. Recover the fertility of your soil, Ruffin urged, if it takes two centuries to do it. Religion and patriotism both plead for it. Avoid the "matricide" of soil exhaustion.⁵ A South Carolinian estimated that his state had lost one third of her population by "disastrous migration" in twelve years.⁶

Contemporaneous accounts from other Southern states

were just as gloomy. A "planter" correspondent to the *Southern Cultivator* said that Morgan County had lost half its population and the fertility of its soil was only one-third what it had been. Where once had stood "the poplar, the walnut, and the redbud," a traveler might see "the deep-washed gully, with here and there a patch of broom sedge, and perchance, a bunch of blackberry bushes."⁷ Addressing the Hancock County [Georgia] Planters' Club, Eli H. Baxter spoke in similar vein:⁸ "At every point the eye meets the evacuated and dilapidated mansion—worn-out and exhausted plantations." What had been a rich country was becoming a barren waste, he warned; we must revolutionize our agriculture or abandon our homes. In Kentucky, Chilton Allen, president of the State Agricultural Society, said in 1841, "Two-thirds of the cleared fields will not produce half as much as they did at first."⁹ In the deep South Solon Robinson saw abandoned plantations with "buildings and fences . . . tumbling in ruins," once-beautiful "gardens grown up in briars and bushes, and large fields covered with broom sedge, the whole making a scene of desolation . . . painful to pass."¹⁰

The evil of too great a dependence on one staple was then understood by some men. Cotton cultivation, if persisted in, would ruin the land and "depopulate every neighborhood" of the kind of people necessary for its prosperity, warned the author of *Southern Folly*. It would break up "schools, stores, and means of social intercourse."¹¹ The old, easy, indolent way that had worked when lands were rich would work no longer, wrote "A Burke County [Georgia] Planter."¹²

To point out error and its consequences, however, is easier than to effect the necessary change. "As a general rule," John A. Calhoun told his planter audience, "it is a waste of time to attempt to reform men until the hand of necessity bears heavily upon them."¹³ He might have added that even in dire "necessity" conditions must be such as to make change possible. South of Maryland and Virginia both social and geographic factors made change difficult.

The difficulties in the way of introducing improved methods of farming if one used uneducated labor had been discovered by the farmer of Mt. Vernon.¹⁴ This comparative lack of education still existed, judging by the number of papers circulating in the South.¹⁵ Most of the farm journals were published in the North and East,¹⁶ where educational opportunities for those who toiled were better. "The Southern people are no readers," complained one who signed himself "Spruce Wall" in the *Southern Cultivator*, "nor indeed can they be prevailed upon to read without the greatest effort: 'For darkness covers the earth.'"¹⁷

Immigrants from Europe introduced improved methods of agriculture in many areas in the North. Men like John Johnston, an English-born New Yorker, knew how to build up fertility-depleted farm land. German immigrants conserved fertility by crop rotation and feeding livestock, returning the manure to the soil. "Unlike the restless American, with his ears ever-pricked to the hail of distant opportunity, the phlegmatic German . . . [identified] himself with his farm . . . , " planning to keep it in the family "generation after generation."¹⁸

The South attracted fewer newcomers with their improved farm methods. Immigrants found it easier to buy a small "improved farm"—cleared land with dwelling and stable—in the North than to buy a big plantation in the South. Most of them did not like the Southern aristocrat's disrespect for labor—and the people who engaged in it. In areas of Maryland and Virginia where change in farm methods *did* come, migrants brought them. Soil-skinning, one-crop farmers left, and families who practiced a different type of agriculture moved in from New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.¹⁹ Only occasionally did the South, the cotton belt, benefit by the coming of a planter with new ideas, such as M. W. Phillips, who believed in diversified farming.²⁰

As contrasted with the North, where growing trade centers or manufacturing towns afforded markets for dairy

products, fruit and vegetables, fresh meat and poultry, the South offered fewer markets for such products. Solon Robinson reported visiting one farmer near Vicksburg who, having turned his attention to vegetable gardening and milk production, was able with the help of two or three Negroes to raise more cash in a year than many cotton planters got with two or three hundred Negroes.²¹ According to Robinson, this one planter's change-over had reduced the price of milk from forty to twenty-five cents a gallon. The situation that would have developed if a dozen others had decided to produce milk and vegetables for the Vicksburg market is obvious.

Robinson urged plantation owners to quit being "planters" and "become farmers, raising so far as possible everything they ate, drank, wore, and used." Agricultural premiums should be given to him who came nearest raising everything he used.²² Producing food for their slaves, livestock, *et cetera*, would have certainly helped their finances—and when they had learned how to do it successfully it would have contributed to their health and happiness. At the same time it would have hurt Midwestern farmers, who were selling their surplus flour, pork and mules to plantation owners.

Of the unprofitableness of agriculture then there seems little doubt. An Alabama planter who acted as his own overseer stated that six-cent cotton netted him only a thousand dollars above the interest (figured at seven per cent) on his eighty-thousand-dollar investment.²³ On "one of the best plantations" in South Carolina, where the investment was twice as large, the owner netted only two thousand dollars above the seven per cent return on his investment, and this calculation allowed nothing for depreciation or repairs. Yet these two crops were said to have made a better showing than three fourths of the cotton crops of the nation.²⁴

While a few planters might have switched from cotton to sugar, the amount of money required to make the change was "a large sum," and the price of sugar was low, too.²⁵ One Louisiana planter estimated that six-cent cotton was less

profitable than sugar at three cents a pound, but in the opinion of another "gentleman of education and intelligence," it was useless for hill farmers to think of going into sugar production, and most sugar planters of the state were "bound to fail." ²⁶

In the North the financial prospects appeared little, if any, better. James F. W. Johnston reported that, from everything he could learn of the condition of the rural population east of Lake Erie and north and east of the Delaware River, money was "not to be made in farming." By ordinary industry a man there could gain a comfortable living for a family, "but money was accumulated with difficulty"; yet, added he, "this is the test of prosperity which all classes apply to their pursuits." ²⁷ Agreeing with this, Silas Wright told his New York State audience, "The hope of gain is the motive power to human industry, and is as necessary to the farmer as to the merchant or manufacturer." But farmers did not calculate the profits of their labor and capital as closely as men in other pursuits and they "were content with lower rates of gain." ²⁸

The way one farm editor thought farm profits should be calculated is interesting and novel. If, said he, a man with ten thousand dollars invested in land, stock, tools, *et cetera*, should spend for taxes, for expenses not connected with his farm, and for the support of his family, everything he makes on his farm to the last dollar, "if these expenditures equal in the aggregate seven hundred dollars, it is clear that he has received seven per cent on the capital invested." ²⁹ Evidently this editor figured that the farmer and his family were working for their board!

When a farm *did* show a profit it is not always clear whether the owner was farming the soil or "farming" his help. On an exceptionally profitable farm in New York, one that took second prize in 1850, the income was derived chiefly from sale of milk, sweet corn, and other items in the state capital, two miles away. But the hired men who put in 407 days work on the farm were figured at fifty cents a day;

one hired girl received sixteen dollars for four months' work, and another worked a year for fifty-two dollars and her board.³⁰

Something of the profitableness—or unprofitableness—of farming is indicated by the earnings per agricultural laborer as reported in the 1840 census. These ranged from \$109 in the older cotton-growing State of South Carolina to \$289 in the newer cotton- and sugar-producing State of Louisiana; from \$139 in Ohio to \$244 in Vermont.³¹ The low cash income helps one understand de Tocqueville's observation that "almost all the farmers of the United States" combined some trade with agriculture, or made agriculture a trade, *i.e.*, by buying, improving, and selling farms.³²

Even in that day a few were beginning to see that profitable agricultural production must be related to market demand. In the *Southern Cultivator* of February, 1845, one who signed himself "Agricola" proposed planting half as much cotton in 1845 as in 1844. On this half of the land, he said, use two thirds of the field hands; use the other third in clearing out old ditches, building new fences, *et cetera*. Get rid of a third of the mules and horses, feed hogs instead, thereby producing pork for the slaves. He proposed that state conventions be held to discuss such a program; that later, in a general convention, such means might be adopted as would effect the reform suggested.³³ At the Memphis Convention in December, 1845, the agricultural committee reported a plan suggesting a one-third cut in cotton production, but the idea received little support.³⁴

Another solution of the Southern farmers' marketing problem broached was the establishment of manufactures in the South. "We find our agricultural produce a drug on our hands for the want of this market, and for the reason that there is not a wise division of labor among us," wrote one advocate of industrial development. The erection of large manufacturing establishments in Tennessee would mean that artisans, mechanics, and laborers in workshops, foundries and factories would consume "our surplus beef, pork, bread,

potatoes, fruit, poultry, *et cetera*." Northern capitalists, he concluded, would be astonished at the vast amount of water power side-by-side with iron, coal, marble, cotton and other raw material.³⁵ Other men also advocated industrial development.³⁶

The industrial dependence of the South is seen in a graphic account given by a visitor from the North. "We furnish them almost every manufactured article," he wrote; their raw cotton is hauled "from the gin and the press we built for them, done-up in . . . bagging and rope [we sold to them], and sewed with . . . twine and needles [we made for them], in wagons we manufactured, pulled by horses we raised, in harnesses we fashioned, over roads built with Northern-made plows, hoes and spades, to river steamboats we own; transferred thence to ocean-going vessels and sold through Northern commission merchants who take a good share of 'skinnage.'" The return of the finished overalls, beddings, and other cotton products was by the same expensive route. "By all of which means," concluded this frank writer, addressing Southerners, "we constantly keep a raw spot in your feelings; but it is not sufficiently 'galled' to teach you to become your own manufacturers."³⁷

To attempt to bring the loom and anvil close to the plow in Tennessee, or other Southern states, was one thing; but to insist that until such time as that was accomplished, Southern planters must buy the products of Northern looms and anvils (under a protective tariff policy very favorable to the North) was another matter. This use of government regulation to aid commercial, manufacturing, and financial interests at the expense of agriculture was truly a persistent problem.

Such regulations had irritated farmers in colonial days. As soon as the Federal Government started the protective tariff policy this problem appeared in a different guise—as John Taylor of Maryland pointed out at the time.³⁸ The situation at mid-century was analyzed by a contemporary economist thus: free trade for England, he pointed out, meant cheaper

food and hence, cheaper manufacturing costs. Opening the markets there to American-grown food raised prices of grain here. American manufacturers, he believed, favored having foreign markets closed against our produce so that food prices here would be as low as possible, putting producers of both food and raw cotton "*at the mercy of the manufacturer.*" "It is the competition of the world which will contribute most to the interests of the American planter and farmer," he concluded. "Their interests are too vast to be accommodated by the demand of a home market."³⁹ This sectional conflict over the tariff could not be easily resolved.

The difficulties caused by the protective tariff, uncontrolled production, and soil-depleting agriculture were aggravated—if not in considerable degree caused—by another problem that was older than Anglo-Saxon soil-robbing in America, older than the overproduction of staples like cotton and tobacco. This was "the inordinate thirst for acquiring wealth and fashionable consequence,"⁴⁰ which was criticized by foreigners and native-born alike in the South and in the North, in depressions and in periods of prosperity.⁴¹

Fashion has been a tyrant in America since the early days: "Whatever goods you may send me," George Washington instructed his agent in London, "let them be fashionable."⁴² The offspring of Caprice and Fancy, Fashion was born in the neighborhood of idleness, which for America would be among the aristocracy of the South. "High and low, rich and poor, male and female," her subjects almost quarrel among themselves to see who can "do her the most homage."⁴³

Wealth, according to Harriet Martineau, was "practically worshiped here before Washington was born."⁴⁴ The natural consequence of making wealth so important was the desire for accumulation.⁴⁵ Acquisitiveness is a good steward⁴⁶ but degenerates into Avarice when it becomes a totalitarian dictator. Avarice is served by "Hunger," with "Poverty" as "privy-counsellor,"⁴⁷—New England is its original domain in America. Perhaps the "severe climate and stubborn soil"

that made money scarce and caused a frugality bordering sometimes on meanness was one "parent";⁴⁸ the other "parent" of Avarice, according to Henry Colman, was city life, which made money the "instrument of subsistence, of gain, and of pleasure."⁴⁹

What is the bearing of this upon rural life? James H. Garnett charged that the worn-out soils of Virginia were due to proprietors using soil "more as the means of gratifying their appetite—their love of show, and the means of displaying it, than as sources of future comfort, respectability, and happiness to their children."⁵⁰ Frederick L. Olmsted, on his tour of the seaboard states, came to the conclusion that young men and women were so reared that they had "hardly any conception of comfort without splendor, or of beauty beyond fashion."⁵¹

In the North, an agricultural writer admitted there was some justice in the criticism made by foreigners that they found here "a calculating, money-making people . . . a nation of utilitarians."⁵² Probably thrift was carried to the point of avarice and to the exclusion of most of the finer things of life because of the "limited intellectual and cultural background"⁵³ out of which many transplanted European peasants had come. A minister denounced the dog-in-the-manger selfishness, which accumulated without sharing and found most of its joy in contrasting its own abundance with the misery and destitution of others.⁵⁴ Those who hoard up a greater quantity than they can use, added another critic, deprive others of their fair share.⁵⁵

Some philosophically minded individuals like Buel,⁵⁶ Rufin,⁵⁷ Colman,⁵⁸ and Downing,⁵⁹ not to mention men less widely known, pleaded with their fellow countrymen not to regard wealth as the end and aim of living. "A feverish anxiety to become rich," wrote one counsellor, becomes an imperious taskmaster that "hardly allows time to eat or sleep." Freeing himself from such a master a farmer should manage his affairs well and yet have time for relaxation, for friends, for the improvement of his mind.⁶⁰ Wealth is good as a

"means of living," wrote J. Dille to the *Western Agriculturist*, but "man is made for happiness"; hence one should get wealth, not to hoard it or to make a display, but, as "Bobbie" Burns put it, "for the glorious privilege of being independent."⁶¹

Generally speaking, however, the Yankee children of the "resolute, dogmatic, conscientious, rigid Puritan" came to have a "reverence for wealth," as George Russell put it in addressing a horticultural society. "This pocket worship makes a task of recreation, and our excursions of pleasure are races against time reluctantly abstracted from regular occupations."⁶² Then, perhaps thinking of the terrible disaster on the Hudson River just a few weeks before, he concluded with these words: "It appears to be much more important that a steamboat should make a quick passage, than that the travelers should land safely." The chief victim of that Hudson River disaster, the former editor of *The Horticulturist*, had been more philosophical in his criticism: "We are too much occupied with making a great deal," he wrote in his July editorial just before the fatal trip, "to have reached that point when a man or a people thinks it is wiser to understand how to enjoy a little well, than to exhaust both body and mind in getting an indefinite more."⁶³

The "mania for wealth"⁶⁴ was half-apologetically explained by some as being due to the lack of social stratification based on birth: since "we have no hereditary distinctions in this country," wrote one who signed himself "Swanton, Vt.," "the easiest distinction which can be acquired here is that of wealth."⁶⁵ There was almost a note of pride in one proffered defense of money-worship: "If there be any aristocracy of wealth in our country," wrote Tristram Burgess, "it is a genuine, a native growth. It has been produced by the labor, the enterprise, and persevering economy of the people themselves."⁶⁶

Whether money was sought as end or means, acquisitiveness was found to be a hard master; it has, Orrin Densmore told the Rock County [Wisconsin] Agricultural Society:

. . . perverted all the other faculties to its unholy gratification; tasking us early and late, it presides when we worship, or sit with a friend; it closes the hand of charity, and like the frogs of Egypt, gets into our ovens and kneading troughs; it forbids the body's comfort and the mind's culture.

The sad tales men's bodies told of misuse were attributed by him, not to toil incident to getting a living, but to subservience to this unnatural master.⁶⁷

The money-mania brought in its train other evils, not least of which was speculation in land, which many people regarded as the shortest route to membership in the aristocracies of either wealth or fashion. Land speculation hurt rural life in several ways. It made land higher in price to newcomers;⁶⁸ the competition of the land speculator in the loan market meant higher interest rates for farmers who needed to borrow to purchase a homestead. The success of some speculators made other people seek easy money by the same means, leading at times to a fever of speculation.⁶⁹ Consequently small farmers put all their money in more land, and even went in debt, burdening themselves and their families with mortgages and interest payments, risking loss of all they owned if depression were to strike, and leaving themselves without working capital for the land they farmed.⁷⁰ The hope of easy money made farming seem too slow a way to get rich. Finally, men would not plant orchards, put in drain tile or make other long-time investments in farms they soon expected to sell, lest these should not increase the sale value of the farm accordingly and would hence prove unprofitable.⁷¹

The social effects of land speculation were, from the country-life point of view, even worse. The effect upon the speculator himself, wrote one critic, was to ruin him "for all good and sober habits of contented industry"; furthermore, it led to "the kindred and inseparable vice of falsehood and deception."⁷² The statesmanlike view of the matter was well

expressed by George McDuffie in an oration before the South Carolina Agricultural Society: "Though individuals . . . may become rich by unproductive processes, it is impossible, in the very nature of things, that communities ever can." Therefore, he concluded, let us engage in honest industry, consoled by the thought that every dollar we make is so much added to the wealth of the state and "that losses of others constitute no one of the elements of our prosperity." ⁷³

Speculation affected the social development of a community, too. If tracts of newly opened sections were bought by speculators and held for some time, this would retard the community development in such matters as road building, maintaining schools, churches, and a wholesome social life—because such communities would be less compactly settled.⁷⁴

High interest rates, growing out of borrowing for speculation, took their toll of human happiness from many debtor farm families. If a good agriculturist like James Wadsworth, favorably situated in the rich Genesee Valley of New York, could make only three to seven and a half *per cent* on his investment,⁷⁵ how could a poor debtor-farmer pay an interest rate of seven *per cent* and still support his family? In the Midwest the rates for farm loans rose to ten and twelve *per cent*, with fifteen, eighteen, and even higher rates being mentioned.⁷⁶ If one will allow for occasional crop failures and periodic depressions he can appreciate why there were days of toil followed by nights of worry for the debtor-farmer and his wife, as they fearfully anticipated losing their home. The debtor's desperation of hope, stated one report of conditions in a Wisconsin county in 1851, was only equaled by the exultation of avarice on the part of the lender. As a consequence, the writer concluded, the farmer faced "a cheerless present and a hopeless future."⁷⁷ Every dollar that went to enrich speculator or moneylender was taken from family necessities, comforts, or educational purposes. The self-denial and privation entailed in meeting exorbitant interest and mortgage payments are among those things that, as R. H. Tawney says, statistics are incapable of expressing.

The debtor's plight in some states was so serious that proposals were offered for enactment of laws exempting a little homestead, a minimum of land and shelter, from mortgage foreclosure. If such an exemption law were not made retroactive, Solon Robinson argued, it "surely . . . could do nobody any wrong," for contracts or deals would be made with both parties "knowing what to rely upon." Such a law, he concluded, "would do more to feed the hungry and clothe the naked and the poor, to prevent destitution and pauperism, vice and crime, than all the alms, than all the charities, ever bestowed, simply by allowing the unfortunate to have and hold the means necessary to feed and clothe themselves." ⁷⁸

It was not just the debtor-farmer's family that was hurt by speculation and other concomitants of money-worship. The successful farmer-speculator's family suffered too—in that it was not permitted to "take root" and have a rural "home." Selling and moving was so common that one traveler thought the New York owner was "in reality a less fixed being than the tenant farmers" of Great Britain.⁷⁹

The "impulse to migration" was not new. De Tocqueville wrote: ". . . a man builds a house to spend his latter years in, and sells it before the roof is on; he brings a field into tillage and leaves others to gather the crops."⁸⁰ Generally speaking, another visitor wrote, "every farm from Eastport in Maine to Buffalo on Lake Erie"⁸¹ was for sale. Sometimes there seemed to be an epidemic of "Western fever."⁸² But moving West did not allay the fever. Even in Iowa, Solon Robinson wrote in 1844, "not one person in a hundred feels as though he was working for himself and children; such is the all-pervading disposition to change."⁸³ One minister-editor at mid-century stated that the spirit of unrest was like the thirst of a drunkard, irresistible but unappeasable.⁸⁴

The bearing of the spirit of unrest upon rural life is fairly obvious. If a farmer felt his location was temporary, subject to change if offered a good price for his farm, or if

he believed the attractive advertising about some area farther west, he would hardly spend either time or money making his home more comfortable or beautifying his premises. The possibility of moving would affect consideration of whether the family should buy some new furniture, or labor-saving devices to make farm work easier for them all. It would even affect his attitude toward his community's school and other institutions.

By moving West families lost or left behind both friends and "scenes to which their hearts . . . would often fondly turn." They would probably find that in "religious privileges, morals, means of education and social intercourse" the new community was, and would be for some time, "far inferior" to those in the East.⁸⁵ Even the increased savings or quicker accumulation of wealth in the newer community were due, one critic asserted, to the family's living in a log cabin, sleeping on the ground, eating on a slab pinned into logs whatever food came to hand, and working both early and late.⁸⁶

One other social effect of the restlessness—or speculation-inspired migration, is its bearing upon the farm wife and mother. What unnecessary pioneering cost one woman is clearly portrayed in Margaret Lefever's "Story of Early Life in Michigan." When the parents with their six children reached Michigan, they were worn out by travel and were homesick. Instead of getting free land they found they had to buy it. There were pioneer privations, sickness, hard work. After they had got a new house built near the road, "Mother Lefever began to hope to have all the comforts of home as she had them back in 'York State.'" But the father's attacks of ague got worse. Finally he tried "the doctor's remedy," bleeding—the panacea at that time—and "in fifteen minutes he was dead." That put an added burden on the mother: she had to help the boys with the heavy farm work, such as clearing the field of stones for the fall wheat crop. They piled them by moonlight because the mother had to have daylight for her spinning. "Sorrowful memories come to me of my

mother's struggles to keep her six children together," concluded the author. The mother died five years after the father did.⁸⁷

Another picture, with just as dark shadows, is that in the *Recollections* of the man who urged young men to go West, Horace Greeley. His mother, he explained, "plunged into the primitive forests too late in life, and never became reconciled to the pioneer's inevitable discomforts." The log home's chimney *would* smoke; and the roof *would* leak in a driving rain. "I think," Greeley wrote of his mother, "... the shadows of the great woods oppressed her from the hour she first entered them." From that day on till the day of her death, thirty years later, he never caught "the same old smile on her face, the familiar gladness in her mood, the hearty joyfulness in her manner." What tragedy in this concluding sentence! "Those who knew her only in her later years, never truly knew her at all."⁸⁸

Women always had the short end of whatever social contacts pioneer life afforded. Man had to go to the "center" of trade to sell produce or buy supplies. Because of the nature of the work of the two sexes, men worked in groups more than did women. Poor roads, for men, may have meant long, cold, wet rides, wagons to be pried out of the mud and harnesses to be repaired; for women they too often meant social hunger, even to the point of spiritual starvation.

Both sexes did hard work, but women's work did not end with the setting sun, nor was there any seasonal respite. Writing of "Pioneer Life in Jones County," Iowa, one author speaks of women helping plant the corn, cooking for "thrashers," making clothing, and so forth. When winter came, the men, "having had such hard work all summer and no labor-saving machines," were ready for a rest. Perhaps the women, also without labor-saving machines, were ready for a rest too. But many household tasks had to be done in all seasons; others piled up in the busiest seasons, waiting for wintertime. Even on the occasional neighborhood visits "the women sewed or quilted" while the men "talked or chewed

tobacco, spitting in the hearth or on the floor”⁸⁹ (for some woman to clean up?).

Sometimes the pioneer woman did not have such conveniences as could have been made available by a little thoughtful consideration. “Matilda of Mukwanago, Wisconsin,” wrote in the *Prairie Farmer* in 1847 of a young man who in “his zeal to get rich . . . spent an undue proportion of his money on lands” and forgot to save out enough cash to fit up a home so his bride could do her work conveniently and in comfort. He knew their house was cold and that the roof leaked but told his wife he could not stop to repair it—they would build a new house when they got rich. He knew it was hard for her to carry water from the spring a quarter-mile or so away but he couldn’t afford to dig a well, for he must enclose and break a large farm, lest he should not get rich as fast as his neighbors. Nor could he stop to cut wood for the cook stove in harvest time. With so much work at hand he couldn’t attend to “such trifles.” Yet, even if she had to find the fuel to cook it, he expected the dinner to be ready on time.

With her family responsibilities increasing, and the improvements that would have lightened her load forgotten or overlooked, she gradually lost her health. The end, wrote Matilda, would be premature death or permanent invalidism. Then, although the fields might be extended and the mansion built, she for whom he was ostensibly getting these things would not be able to enjoy them with him. And possibly their children would be left in the care of a stranger.⁹⁰

Speaking of pioneer women’s health, a “Maryland Farmer’s Wife” after a visit to Indiana gave a short but terrible indictment of conditions there. “From what we saw and heard, we came to the conclusion that the women, in particular, were very short-lived.” Called on by a large circle of acquaintances of their host “we invariably asked after they had left, how many times each gentleman had been married. The answer, with but few exceptions, was twice and three times. Our friend, who was herself a second wife, has

since died. . . ." ⁹¹ Abel Stevens, writing in the *National Magazine*, gave similar testimony. Speaking of the women of the West, he wrote, "We were struck with their almost universal appearance of ill health." ⁹² The editor of the *Mother's Magazine* explained the complete undermining of Western mothers' health as being due to hard work, little help, few conveniences, and great disadvantages. If their health was not ruined, said the editor, they were "so dragged down with incessant toil" that they were "to a great extent unfitted for the high, solemn, and spiritual duties of a mother." ⁹³

The woman who could "tough it out" in the self-sufficing pioneer household had one advantage, however. The work she was doing made her a true partner. In addition to the meal-preparing, child-rearing, and housekeeping functions, she often produced clothing, made soap, and provided other necessities not otherwise attainable. In some areas of poor transportation, such as the northern district of New York, she was still selling products of her loom to help provide cash income for the family. In 1840 the value of domestic manufactures in that area amounted to four and one-half million dollars. ⁹⁴ In more frontier communities, the cash work sometimes included such tasks as tanning skins, or the leaching of ashes. ⁹⁵

With the passing of household industries such as weaving, woman's work may have been easier, but also less interesting. Creative craftsmanship has a spiritual significance. ⁹⁶ Surely the weaving of something durable—and sometimes beautiful—would have been more enjoyable and satisfying than the handstitching of a second or third layer of patches on some cheap factory-made product (which she must either repair or ask her husband for money to replace).

The situation of the wife and children would not appear to have been an enviable one, whether in the case of the less venturesome poor debtor-farmer in the East, the restless seeker after impossible Eldorados in the West, or the money-grubber who settled down on an upper Mississippi Valley farm to get rich. Despite the fact that American farmers were

better off than cultivators of the soil in any other part of the earth, wrote the editor of the *Family Magazine*, there was to be found here a real poverty, rather than a comparative one. Most farm homes, she concluded, "are destitute of solid comforts and enjoyments which they might and ought to have."⁹⁷

The lack of these "comforts and enjoyments," along with other factors contributing to the hard lot of many a farm woman, helped make their daughters dislike farm life. Seeing their mothers age prematurely under the burden of hard work, childbearing, and social starvation, many girls of spirit sought to escape a similar fate by marrying lads who planned to live in the town or city. The education being given young women in some female seminaries influenced them in the same direction.

Writing on "Female Education" in 1841, Caleb Atwater pointed out that a generation earlier farmers' wives and daughters in the German and Irish settlements of Pennsylvania and New York had worked in the fields. The arrival of New Englanders with ideas opposed to such labor "banished females from the fields to their houses and firesides." That change was good for both sexes, he believed, but there was a danger in going to the opposite extreme: "Are our females to be mere kitchen maids . . . without any mental cultivation?" he queried. Or

if they are taught anything more, shall it be only how to play on the harp, guitar, and the pianoforte, to draw . . . ; to dance a waltz; walk gracefully on their toes; make a handsome curtsy; . . . sing a fashionable song; wear corsets, false curls and artificial flowers; hold a silly conversation on nothing; leer and look languishing; and—act the fool?

The objective of education, he maintained, should be the development of all youth's powers and faculties to prepare them for useful, happy living.⁹⁸

Over against the female seminary ideal of education, stemming from French aristocracy—the devotee of Fashion—rural leaders like Colman, Downing and others were trying to establish the ideal of the broadly educated and refined English gentlewoman as the right one for American young women, especially for those of the rural community.⁹⁹ Young English women, Downing wrote from London in 1850, had a little less of “that nameless grace that captivates at first sight,” but they had “a better and more solid education, more disciplined minds, and above all, more common sense.” Fond of horses, dogs, fine cattle, beautiful grounds, and in short, of everything that belongs to country life and a country home, they could talk about such things in a way that the product of Madame Blank’s boarding school might think “vulgar” or “unladylike.”¹⁰⁰

The bearing of young women’s ideals and education on rural life is fairly obvious. The French “nothing-beyond-the-drawing-room”¹⁰¹ type might not be so out of place in the South, where slave labor was available, although it is difficult to see how such a woman could adequately supervise the affairs of her own household. In the North, however, the young farmer’s wife was expected to “know how to make Johnny-cake and cheese” as well as—or rather than—to “play on the piano.”¹⁰² The French ideal would make young women despise manual labor, scorn farmer-suitors, and condemn the position of working-farmer’s wife. Even in the South, according to one agricultural society speaker, “the fastidious boarding school miss turned up her beautiful nose at the young planter. . . .”¹⁰³

Figuratively speaking, many a farmer was also “turning up his nose” at farming. An article in the [Albany] *Cultivator* complained of

many of our farmers seeking to elevate their condition by becoming innkeepers, merchants, or public officers; and others . . . sending their sons to learn the chicanery of the law, or initiating them into the mysteries of

mercantile duplicity, in order to make them gentlemen.¹⁰⁴

This manifest discontent with rural life had economic roots, as pointed out above, in the unprofitableness of agriculture; but social factors were also important. "Crushed beneath the supposed superiority of the learned professions, and wealth and luxuries of trade and commerce," wrote an agricultural correspondent in 1849, "it has been the lot of the farmer, for many years, to find himself looked upon as an inferior man."¹⁰⁵ James Johnston corroborated this: "In nearly the whole of North America which I have been through, from Halifax to Buffalo, wherever there is a mixed population, the social inferiority of the farming class is everywhere spoken of."¹⁰⁶ Others implied, if they did not openly state, the same thing. Man desires not only health and the conveniences of life, Josiah Quincy told the New York State Agricultural Society, but also to be useful and to be esteemed.¹⁰⁷

Efforts to boost the social status and the self-respect of the working farmer had been made earlier. Jefferson spoke of "those who labor in the earth" as the "chosen people of God, if He ever had a chosen people, whose breasts He has made His peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue."¹⁰⁸ In the 1830's, Northern agricultural papers began openly urging farmers to respect themselves. Self-respect is "the first step towards commanding the respect of others," the many readers of the *Cultivator* were admonished; there is no class in society "who has at their command more of the elements of public usefulness, of unshackled independence, and of true greatness," than those who till the soil.¹⁰⁹

Unfortunately, however, service, independence and character were not the principles upon which social esteem at that time was always bestowed. The gentleman farmer of means was socially acceptable; professional men and retired merchants who bought farms and became country gentlemen lost no social esteem thereby. But was it respectable to hoe

and plow and feed the sow? The crux of the matters seems to have been the respectability or non-respectability of labor. That was the issue that was being fought out in North and South alike in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the days before the "bank-mania," wrote a correspondent to the *Southern Cultivator*, the smaller planters with five to fifteen slaves "were in the habit of assisting by their personal labor the various businesses on the farm or plantation. . . . But now how are matters conducted?" At the country post office, he explained, several gather to drink and play cards; "all have overseers now; their wives . . . like their lords, are gadding; each man makes a big showing of what he is making. . . ." ¹¹⁰ In that section of the nation, even mercantile vocations apparently needed to be defended. James D. B. DeBow wrote that Southerners "from ignorance of the true nature and dignity of commerce . . . rather shunned participation in it." Planters' sons, he continued, had "preferred to stock the learned professions beyond the possibility of demand, or to indulge in idleness, vice, and dissipation." ¹¹¹

With the rising tide of democracy in North and West, there came a cumulative defense of the respectability of labor. "Why should there be any idle . . . ; why should not every class be compelled to work?" asked Theodore Sedgwick. The answer given in England, he continued, was that if all were to engage in "servile" manual labor, none would have leisure to "study, to read, to cultivate the arts . . . to become philosophers; to contrive canals, railroads, and other improvements; to write books, to make fine gardens, pictures, statues"; however, he maintained, it was the working people who read and studied most, who became inventors, philosophers, architects, poets and artists. ¹¹² The idle rich and their servants and lackeys, he continued, all the fashionable doing-nothing class, the lottery and horse-racing group, ought to be called the soap-bubble blowers. ¹¹³

The cause of dignifying manual labor found many sup-

porters. Oberlin College, with "learning and labor" on its shield, took up the challenge. In the Oberlin Quarterly Review, J. H. Fairchild set forth the apotheosis of Elihu Burritt: "While the 'Learned Blacksmith' still lives it will be no disgrace to be soiled by the dust of the anvil."¹¹⁴ The sage of Concord gave his support: "Labor is God's education," he told his audience.¹¹⁵ "So far is manual labor from meriting contempt or slight," wrote the popular essayist and lecturer William Ellery Channing, "that it will probably be found, when united with true means of spiritual culture, to foster a sounder judgment, a keener observation, a more creative imagination and a purer taste, than any other vocation." However, he admitted, "It is hard for a class of men to respect themselves who are denied respect by all around them."¹¹⁶

The explanations given as to why men looked down on labor varied. William H. Seward told the Vermont Agricultural Society that it was a relic of barbarism, when agricultural work was despised because bravery in battle and skill in the chase had to be encouraged.¹¹⁷ Fairchild of Oberlin blamed disrespect for labor on the classics.¹¹⁸ Stephen A. Douglas pointed to the time when "agriculture was the exclusive occupation of an enslaved peasantry."¹¹⁹ Others, by quoting the Bible, sought to prove that labor had been a curse ever since the time of Adam.¹²⁰ Henry Colman explained that in aristocratic England, "human muscles and sinews" were regarded "like the parts of any other implements"; and when their power was gone, they were discarded and thrown into almshouses. He feared that such an attitude was becoming too common in the United States.¹²¹

While some were decrying and explaining disrespect for labor, a few others were doing something about it. In a nation half-free and half-slave, with a European background that associated agricultural labor with serfdom and servility, the example of doctors, businessmen, lawyers and preachers who identified themselves with the farmer group, counted

for more than mere words. Their active participation in farm work had more effect upon the farmer's estimation of his own calling than did the platitudinous volubility of non-toiling agricultural-society speakers. As an illustration of this fact, the account of Silas Wright, a Governor of New York and United States Senator from 1833 to 1845, affords a good example. On his little thirty-acre farm he went with his hired men into the field, "plowing, mowing and harvesting, performing himself a full share of labor."¹²² Hence it was that a county agricultural committee gave the admonition, "Young man! disdain not toil, for Silas Wright toiled—toiled daily on the farm, sharing in all its labors—and what he did, it becomes any man to do."¹²³

"Every clergyman, doctor, lawyer and artisan" should cultivate a garden in order "to learn how to appreciate manual labor upon the soil," and also as an example to others, Eben Newton told his audience at the Portage County [Ohio] Fair.¹²⁴ Men of the professions were making contributions not only to the esteem in which agriculturists were held but also to agricultural improvements and organizations. Solon Robinson noted especially the activity of medical men as friends of agriculture. Ezekiel Holmes, founder and editor of the *Maine Farmer*, Daniel Lee of the *Genesee Farmer* and later editor of the *Southern Cultivator*, M.W. Phillips, one of the editors of the *Southwestern Farmer* and agricultural correspondent extraordinary, and editor H.W. Hoyt, of the *Wisconsin Farmer*, were all men trained in medicine. Perhaps this was due to medical men receiving more training in the sciences related to agriculture. But ministers made important contributions too. Henry Colman, Tolbert A. Fannin, editor of the [Nashville] *Agriculturist*, J.A. Wight of the *Prairie Farmer*, and Charles J. Fox of the *Michigan Farmer*, were men trained for the ministry.

Some sought to bolster the self-respect and social esteem of the farmer through poetry.¹²⁵ The *Cultivator* carried an occasional poem idealizing the country and farm life:

THE TILLER OF THE SOIL

* * *

The land gives up its sweet increase,
The sweet reward of toil,
And blest with happiness and peace
Is the tiller of the soil.¹²⁶

The same point of view is expressed in "The Farmer's Song":

We do not envy the man of trade,
Whose life is with cares oppressed,
Who only is happy when wealth is made,
And not as others are blessed.

A rural home is the home we love,
Away from the city's strife;
We bow to none but the God above—
None knows a happier life.¹²⁷

* * *

Sometimes as in the above there was to be noted an effort to deglamorize city life.

A type of verse with a different ring and originating from a different source is exemplified by the following:

Let moneyed blockheads roll in wealth,
Let proud fools strut in state,
My hands, my homestead, and my health
Place me above the great.

* * *

Tumult, perplexity, and care
Are bold ambition's lot;
But these intruders never dare
Disturb my peaceful cot.¹²⁸

The flavor of this "sour grapes" and "Pollyanna" mixture reminds one of a type of political speech seeking to curry

favor with voters whom the politico really despises. And this is essentially what it is, for the author was T.G. Fessenden, law-trained editor of the *New England Farmer*.¹²⁹ Perhaps some of the "agrarian" bitterness sometimes charged against farmers was the product of such minds seeking to exploit farmers' dissatisfaction.

Some of the idealizations of rural life were the "associations, fancies, and dreamy broodings" of men who had left the country in youth for the lure of the city.¹³⁰ Such men looked with longing eyes to the country, fancying they would be happy there, the gilding of the picture often being the memory of a boyhood home among the hills. Should such a man return to the country to live, however, he would find he had been grasping at a shadow, because he had changed: "His tree of life had struck deep roots into a far different soil."¹³¹

Still to be considered among the persistent problems of farmers in mid-nineteenth-century decades was a certain type of agricultural editor. Too often farm papers have been lumped together in a group or class with no distinction between those whose editors knew farming and those whose editor-publishers merely tried to farm the farmer.

As soon as a cause becomes popular by dint of the honest labor of its friends, there will always spring up a class of parasites, that, like the mistletoe, fasten themselves upon the lower branches, and make a brave show. . . . The cause of agriculture has not escaped this affliction.¹³²

Unlike Buel and Ruffin, who began editing farm papers only after years of discriminating observation and successful agricultural experience, some men still undertook publication of a farm paper, trusting to fill up their columns with generalities, with reprints of second-hand ideas that might or might not have worked well somewhere else, and with such contributions as might be sent in. The *Farmer's Cabinet*, the first issues

of the *Southern Cultivator*, and the 1847 *Southern Planter* all impress one as being of this class—more like Fessenden's *New England Farmer*.

The *Farmer's Cabinet* named no editor; the proprietor explained that he was "determined to make the effort," and at the end of the first six months, "having found the farmers of the Middle and Western states disposed to sustain him," he regarded the venture "successful." He asked contributors to supply ideas or knowledge about the technical side of farming—crops, soils, fertilizers, stock, *et cetera*.¹³³ The question arises, however, how could a man who himself lacked first-hand knowledge of such things cull out those contributions which were like the recipe Hartlib published for making butter,¹³⁴ or those which originated with contributors suffering "*cacoethes scribendi*" and known by their neighbors as "notoriously the worst managers in the whole country."¹³⁵

To illustrate the danger of such editing: the *Genesee Farmer* for 1850 carried a contributor's account of an experiment with "Salt as a Manure"; the writer considered the experiment successful,¹³⁶ and there was no editorial note of caution to indicate that the editors knew as much as Robert Child had learned through similar experiments in England over two hundred years before, namely, that "if too great a quantity be used, it causeth barrenness."¹³⁷

Such editors, of course, could tell their readers how esteemed their calling should be,¹³⁸ that they had the sources of wealth, joy and contentment,¹³⁹ that the neatest farmers were the best,¹⁴⁰ and how important their vocation was.¹⁴¹ They could put in sugar-coated verse like "How Happy is the Farmer's Life," or "'Tis Sweet to be a Shepherd Boy." They could even condescendingly inform their readers that "the most serious impediment to the diffusion of agricultural science among the mass of farmers" was not blind-leader-of-the-blind editors but farmers' "lack of mental culture and discipline."¹⁴² Eventually the dirt farmer's criticism of such an editor's publication might bring him to admit that "more pains ought to be taken to separate the chaff from the wheat

in what we publish in our periodicals,"¹⁴³ but that admission was no assurance that future issues of the publication would leave out the chaff—and the weed seed.

If farmers' criticism did not sufficiently educate their unqualified editors, they could withdraw their support from the paper. That they showed wise discrimination is indicated by the facts concerning the *Agriculturist*. Richard L. Allen founded the paper in 1841 and was its first editor; in 1846 he brought out *A Brief Compend of American Agriculture*, and the year following he and his brother established a company to sell farm implements and fertilizers.¹⁴⁴ But whereas Buel built up the [Albany] *Cultivator* in five years to a circulation of twenty thousand,¹⁴⁵ the Allens, after owning and editing the *Agriculturist* for thirteen years had less than a thousand.¹⁴⁶

One very persistent problem of American farmers, misleading advertising, came into existence with the first farm periodical. The *American Farmer* in its first year carried a reference to the swindling in seeds that was being carried on,¹⁴⁷ yet Skinner published in his third volume the claim of a cabbage seedsman that "the first nineteen sorts succeed each other so as to have a succession of cabbages all the year."¹⁴⁸ The influence of such advertisements upon farmers and their undertakings would not be such as to improve either their farming or man's faith in his fellow men. Analyses of the nature and amount of advertising carried in different periodicals is a good means of distinguishing between service- and profit-motivated publishing.

Although still faced with the problems of unqualified editors and misleading advertising, farm families at mid-century did not face the problem of the preceding generation when boys grew up to sixteen years of age without ever having seen a copy of a periodical devoted to farming.¹⁴⁹ While some farm publications lasted only a year or two, there were in the year 1851, according to the editor of the [Albany] *Cultivator*, fifteen weekly and five monthly agricultural periodicals, besides two or three devoted to horti-

culture.¹⁵⁰ The total circulation of these, according to the estimate in the *Agricultural Report* issued by the U.S. Patent Office for 1849, was about two hundred thousand.¹⁵¹ And agricultural journals received credit for much of the improvement being made in farming.¹⁵²

Chapter 7

EDUCATION FOR RURAL LIFE

Of all the problems to be solved in achieving a good rural life, that of adequate education has been one of the most persistent.¹ With the strong surge towards democracy in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, men's faith in education seemed to increase. "Education," wrote one enthusiast, "is the Archimedean lever, which will, with an irresistible power, raise to its real preeminence the farming interests."² Let farmers educate themselves, their sons, and their daughters, J.F. Willard told his fellow members in the Rock County [Wisconsin] Agricultural Society, thereby enabling and elevating their profession; "then shall all men seek to do it reverence, and the tiller of the soil shall occupy his true position—that of lord of creation."³

Since visitors did not find here "that perfect equality" upon which our government was theoretically based, it is natural that men put their faith in education as contributing to greater equality. Visitors found "in many quarters, a strong aristocratic feeling—in some the pride of learning, in many the pride of riches, and in not a few the pride of family."⁴ Man could not choose his family; and education appeared easier than riches to acquire, for one could acquire ideas without depriving someone else of them.

While faith in education was rather general, some did not regard it as essential for the vocation of farming. A farmer may be "an ignorant, slovenly boor, with little more mental endowment than the oxen he drives," Dr. William Darlington told the Philadelphia Agricultural Society, or he may be

"a gentleman of enlarged views, correct intelligence and cultivated taste."⁵ Many ambitious young men, wrote an agricultural correspondent, hold the idea that the "agricultural profession" is one fit only for "the illiterate and unenterprising."⁶

A still worse aspect of the situation was the "prevailing impression" that not only were agriculturists ignorant, but their occupation tended to keep them so. In a four-column article in the *Cultivator*, James Tufts sought to disprove the assertion of "the celebrated John Foster of England" that "field occupations, with their attendant and consequent habits" (hard work?) "tend to stupefy the mental faculties."⁷ Another agricultural correspondent admitted that any candid and truth-seeking man would find among the mass of the agricultural population "an amount of ignorance . . . wholly inexcusable"; however, "if farmers are ignorant," he maintained, "it is not the fault of their vocation," for they live in "the very treasurehouse of wonders."⁸

The real cause of the farmer's lack of education, asserted one writer, was that a son of inquiring mind was generally considered "too smart for a farmer," and was sent to the city to become a lawyer or doctor, or "to engage in commercial speculation."⁹ Meanwhile, another pointed out, the brothers destined to stay on the land were not educated and hence were led to think that "nothing but muscular strength" was needed for farming; they were made to feel inferior to the "educated" son, and consequently any talents they originally possessed became "paralyzed and stagnated."¹⁰ Even in the South, according to one account, planters degraded their vocation by instilling in the mind of every boy they educated the belief that he was "above the calling of his father."

Already in that day it was clear to some people that the more of certain types of education rural young people got, the greater would be the problems of the rural community. "All the education of the schools they go to has nothing to do with making a farmer of a talented boy, or a farmer's wife of a bright and clever girl," wrote Downing, "but a

great deal to do with unmaking them, by pointing out the superior advantages of merchandise, and the 'honorable' professions." The improvement of rural social life cannot come from the atmosphere of boarding schools and colleges, said he, for such institutions "pity the farmer's ignorance and despise him for it."¹²

Rather than send his sons to the academy or college "where mind is educated at the sacrifice of industry and physical strength," advocated J. Dille, "let every farmer interest himself faithfully and honestly in sustaining the district school."¹³ Jesse Buel had suggested making the principles of agriculture a "branch of study in our district schools," and could think of only one objection, namely, "the want of teachers."¹⁴ Not only did teachers lack special training for teaching agriculture, but numbers of them were "birds of passage" using teaching as a steppingstone to some other profession, or academy products, who, while despising rural labor, were willing to market their stock of erudition in rural districts."¹⁵

Since teachers qualified to give agricultural instruction were lacking, one editor suggested that "persons may be found in all our school districts who would be quite capable of lecturing intelligently" on such things as different varieties and qualities of apples, potatoes, corn, and grasses. One hour a day for three months would greatly increase the store of knowledge of many. Or material on "horticulture, livestock, and mechanics" might be substituted for some of the "literary matter" in school readers.¹⁶

Noting that suitable elementary textbooks in agriculture were nonexistent, one agricultural correspondent suggested that the American Institute promote a contest to secure such textbooks, with men of science for judges.¹⁷ New York,¹⁸ Ohio,¹⁹ and Massachusetts²⁰ became interested in getting suitable texts, and publishers' offerings to meet this need were soon put on the market.²¹ It is significant that more texts for the teaching of agriculture in the common schools appeared in

the fifteen years following 1848 than in any earlier period, or in any subsequent period in the nineteenth century.

Other means were suggested for improving rural schools. One writer proposed the establishment of normal schools to train those who would become teachers of country youth for rural living.²² Another advocated the providing of a teacherage, a house with a few acres of land adjoining the school or not far from it, which the teacher might have use of, thereby preventing his becoming a "wanderer" with a "precarious existence." As evidence of the practicability of the plan it was pointed out that it was followed in one or more European countries.²³ To prove what the right kind of man permanently located in a community might accomplish, the example of John Frederick Oberlin was cited. "If so much could be done for a mountainous district of Germany," said a thoughtful writer a decade before John G. Fee and J.A. Rogers started Berea College, what "might not be done for the hills of Kentucky?"²⁴

Whether or not a crop of Oberlins permanently settled in teacherages in various communities could have accomplished what some men hoped to get from the right kind of district schools is a hypothetical question now, and it was then, for there were neither the crop of Oberlins nor the teacherages. As well expect the district school to be metamorphosed into a law school or a divinity school, said Milton Braman, as to expect it to take the place of "those agricultural seminaries, for which there is an imperative need. . . ." ²⁵

Before taking up some of the experiments to provide education for those who were to be farmers, one should note that some so-called farm schools were set-up for other purposes. For example, the Boston Asylum and Farm School was established as a place "where idle and morally exposed children of the city" might be "rescued from vice and danger" and receive "the advantages of good physical and moral education." Its theoretical instruction in agriculture was given "during the evening, especially in the winter

months”²⁶ —like teaching skating by the lecture method in summer! The purpose of the Cream Hill Agricultural School in Connecticut might be inferred if not from the name at least from the advertising points given in the prospectus: “a *selected* and limited number of pupils”; “the Housatonic Railroad furnishes *daily access to New York*”; “the first term commencing on the first Wednesday in May, and terminating on the first Wednesday in November”; “tuition, board, fuel, lights, washing, privileges of library, and *riding*, at *two hundred dollars a year*.”²⁷

A somewhat different type of school at Aurora, Cayuga County, New York, was referred to as a “desirable place, not only for farmers’ sons but for any other son who has the good taste and the good sense to prefer the good and the beautiful to the world’s illusions.”²⁸ This school charged one hundred fifty dollars a year, which brought forth this lament: “No provision made yet for the poor farmer’s sons.”²⁹

In Orange County, New York, some predecessor of the modern “learning-by-doing” educator made his unique experiment. He placed his eight pupils on five farms (three on one three hundred-acre farm), to reside with “their practical instructors,” with whom they worked daily on the farm. When the reader learns that there were, in addition to the labor, fifty-five lectures averaging one and three-quarters hours in length on topics related to agriculture, also study of geometry, rhetoric, and other subjects, he is not surprised to learn that only two of the eight lads remained at the beginning of the second year.³⁰

One of the most interesting experiments made in the effort to adapt education to the needs of working farmers was that carried out by Tolbert Fannin at Elm Crag, five miles from Nashville, Tennessee. Junior editor of the [Nashville] *Agriculturist*, Fannin had expressed his educational ideals through the medium of his paper. “As the young imitate before they reason,” he pointed out, “the freer they can be from evil communications, the better . . .” Since it was common knowledge that “the giddy fashions, empty

show, and immorality of our cities" had a deleterious effect on the manners and morals of youth, the proper location for an institution to train rural youth would be in the country. The school would require implements, stock, buildings, and land for farm, garden and orchard. The greatest difficulty, he believed, would be in securing teachers with the right learning.³¹

In accordance with these ideals Fannin established a school for boys on a worn-out farm five miles from Nashville. Two years later more advanced work was undertaken and Franklin College, chartered by the State of Tennessee,³² opened its doors on January 1, 1845. Besides teaching ancient and modern languages, philosophy, the sciences of the day, and music, the publicity stated that the school was "prepared to instruct in agriculture and the mechanic arts."³³ The plan was for each student to work from two to five hours a day at "one or more branches of physical industry."³⁴ Instead of charging two hundred to a thousand dollars, the institution tried to provide for poorer students and advertised board and room at sixty dollars per year, tuition at twenty dollars in the juvenile department, thirty dollars in the preparatory and forty dollars in the college. Parents of sons who indulged in habits of idleness and extravagance were asked not to send in applications.³⁵

Few accounts of the actual working of Fannin's school were found. One stated that the professors were "inmates of the college buildings," and at meals were "seated among the students"; that the president attended from "early in the morning until after evening prayer."³⁶ Solon Robinson, who visited the school in 1845, reported eighty students in attendance, ranging in age from ten to thirty.³⁷ The *History of Davidson County* gives the impression that Franklin College continued till the Civil War.³⁸

Near Cincinnati, Ohio, an institution known as Farmer's College was organized in 1846 on the foundations of a literary academy that had been established twelve or fifteen years earlier.³⁹ The project had considerable community backing

and aimed to satisfy the educational needs of a farming and business community.⁴⁰ An editorial in the *Ohio State Journal* in 1852 gave a favorable report of a visit to Farmer's College but it made no mention of studies specifically related to agriculture.⁴¹ By 1858, according to the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, there were over 250 students in attendance and an ample corps of instructors.⁴²

Other experiments in agricultural education were tried in both North and South.⁴³ Some tried to get agricultural courses introduced into existing colleges.⁴⁴ One enthusiast suggested the establishment of an agricultural school in every county⁴⁵ but Professor John P. Norton of Yale was of the opinion that if such schools were opened in every New York county he didn't know where the men could be found in the whole United States qualified to take charge of them.⁴⁶ By 1847, a beginning had been made in adapting college science offerings to the service of agriculture; the men in charge had the advantage of training in Europe under Liebig and others.⁴⁷ By 1849 chairs of science in connection with agriculture had been endowed in at least two universities.⁴⁸

Some people had serious doubts as to whether the ordinary college course could be "so modified as to fulfill at the same time" the literary and agricultural "requirements."⁴⁹ They favored establishment of separate institutions, supported by taxation, for the training of leaders in agricultural improvements.⁵⁰ In Wisconsin, however, the University Board of Regents favored creation of an agricultural department rather than the establishment of a new college.⁵¹

The advocates of new institutions were aware of the difficulties attending their establishment. For moral considerations, it was urged, such a school should be located "where knowledge could be obtained without exposure to the endless temptations and seductions of cities and large villages."⁵² Yet urban politics and provincialism worked against this idea. In New York State, the argument ran, Utica had the "lunatic asylum," Auburn the prison, Geneva the colleges, and Rochester *ought* to have the agricultural college.⁵³ Some

feared that a state agricultural institution, if established, would be handicapped by political patronage affecting its administration.⁵⁴ Others feared the difficulty of getting the right kind of instructors, men with both theoretical and practical knowledge.⁵⁵

Perhaps the most frequently mentioned difficulty in getting state-supported schools was that of getting legislative appropriations.⁵⁶ France, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and other European monarchies, all encouraged the cause of agricultural education, wrote one proponent of legislative aid; the contrast, however, between their attitude toward agriculture and that of "the only republic on earth," he said, was "almost enough to make a monarchist of every farmer."⁵⁷

That agricultural education faced serious opposition and handicaps other than lack of legislative appropriations would seem to be a justifiable assumption from the facts as given regarding the execution of the will of one man who desired to aid agriculture. Benjamin Bussey's will, probated in 1842, left two hundred acres and over a quarter of a million dollars for the establishment of "a course of instruction in *practical agriculture*, in useful and ornamental gardening, in botany, and in such other branches of natural science as may tend to promote a knowledge of *practical agriculture*. . . ." According to A.C. True, the Bussey Institution was not established until 1870, and then it was "conducted mainly as a research institution."⁵⁸

It should have been possible, with agricultural schools in Europe as examples, to carry out the purpose of the Bussey will. Was the failure, or generation-long delay, an example of "the narrow-minded opulent" seeking "to maintain their supposed pre-eminence" by keeping "the understanding of the many" bound down "in ignorance"?⁵⁹ Was it due to the conservatism of those educated in the Greek, or classical, tradition who opposed the addition of anything utilitarian to the educational curriculum?⁶⁰ Or was it merely evidence of the uncertainty of men as to what should constitute the material and means of agricultural education?

Certainly there was a battle going on in the field of educational ideals and ideas.

More practical education was desired by many. The first right of a child is "equal, unrestricted, universal education, which will develop every power of the body, every latent faculty of the understanding, and every feeling of the soul with which God has endowed him," urged disciples of Fourier. This would mean that education must be practical or industrial as well as scientific; out of the practical work would come, so the argument ran, a desire to know the theory, the why and wherefore of things.⁶¹ Training which developed merely the physical powers was degrading to man, in the opinion of some, but cultivating the intellect at the expense of the body was also wrong.⁶² Others maintained that the educational training then being given actually disqualified men for useful employment.⁶³ They said that knowledge of living things should be substituted for study of dead languages.⁶⁴

The reform that appeared most promising to many rural-ites in both North and South was the Fellenberg plan.⁶⁵ A report of one Fellenberg experiment, written by one who had associated with the school's students for three years or more, stated that in general the students who had made a good record in studies favored manual training, too; the ones who disliked it were the ones who also disliked language, mathematics, philosophy, rhetoric, everything, in fact, except their beds and the dinner table.⁶⁶ One great difficulty in establishing any manual labor school, however, was the one Pestalozzi himself had pointed out: "To combine in one person the offices of manager, schoolmaster, farmer, manufacturer, and merchant" ⁶⁷ was no easy matter.

Manual labor was recommended by some who believed in its educational value, and by others on the grounds of expediency. Tolbert Fannin, writing in 1841, maintained that in the rather short-lived manual-labor schools that had been set up, labor was not regarded as constituting a part of education but only "as the poor slave's profession, [adopted]

to aid in paying expenses." He believed that if labor's contribution to health, morality, and the development of the intellect were appreciated, and especially if the labor of field and workshop were seen as involving useful science, then labor would be regarded as honorable.⁶⁸ Fannin urged that one shouldn't establish a manual-labor school with the idea of cheapening education. Colman thought that in an institution training men for agriculture "a certain amount of labor should be made compulsory for all at such rates of wages as should be deemed just, according to the ability of the pupil, and the nature of the work to be done"⁶⁹ (which is the system long in use at Berea College).

These newer educational ideals can be traced back to Rousseau and Pestalozzi, of whose theories Fellenberg made a successful demonstration. Children, Pestalozzi wrote, should be educated for the field, the barn, the house, and not merely for talk⁷⁰; "the use of mere words," he averred, produced men who believed they had reached their goal because they had spent their whole life "in talking about it."⁷¹ Rousseau said, "The end that one should set himself in the education of a young man is to form his heart, judgment, and his mind in the order in which I name them." However, he added, "most teachers, and especially the pedants, look on the acquisition and accumulation of knowledge as the sole object of a good education."⁷² On the other hand, he admitted, "It is foolish to depreciate learning, and to deny the need for it."⁷³ Elsewhere Rousseau, following the thought of John Locke, wrote that a man should learn a trade so he would have some resource if he should lose his land; also, learning a trade would help one overcome the prejudice against those who labor.⁷⁴

Such ideals met opposition in both South and North. The prevailing attitude of the planters towards manual labor might be inferred from the advertisements of two agricultural schools. Bishop Ives' school in Ashe County, North Carolina, stated that students would be required to labor only as much as was practically necessary to illustrate the principles the

students had been taught.⁷⁵ The "Mt. Airy Agricultural College," near Philadelphia, advertising in the South for boys ten years old and up, at two hundred dollars a year, stated that the labor required would be only such as was deemed necessary for healthful recreation; furthermore, the graduates would be "gentlemen and scholars," who, if they inherited an estate, would know more than their gardeners, stewards, and overseers.⁷⁶ Opposing the newer and more democratic ideals in both North and South was the tradition of classical education then in vogue.⁷⁷ Both the Southern slave-holding aristocracy and the Northern diploma-holding one were under the influence of this tradition.

The practical bearing of this is made clear in an extract from a Missourian's letter: "In aristocratical states," he pointed out, the opinion was held that "education spoils common laborers," making them feel above their work; but that would be true, he maintained, only where common laborers were kept in "gross and debasing ignorance, and . . . treated as little better than beasts," in which case education would give one "too much dignity of character and self-respect to fit him for a state of servile degradation." If education were made common, however, and the laboring class were treated as intelligent beings, then no one would be above work. "It is an insult to the God of Nature," concluded this writer, "to suppose that one class of mankind must necessarily remain degraded in order that another may be made comfortable." ⁷⁸

In addition to conflicting ideas about manual labor another obstacle that stood in the way of adequate agricultural education was the status of science at that period. What that status was may be inferred from bits of evidence. It was still debatable whether medicine or theology was more entitled to be called a science. One *Manual of Agriculture* taught that there were "seventeen, perhaps nineteen, elementary substances *in all* which enter into the composition of plants and animals." ⁷⁹ Chemistry, Marshall P. Wilder told his audience at Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1849, had been born since

"Farmer Higgins" received his education; consequently the farmer might be forgiven for believing that "ammonia and magnesia were daughters of Queen Victoria, that the phosphates and nitrates were tribes of Indians, and that gypsum was the Queen of the Gypsies." ⁸⁰

Professor John P. Norton, lecturer on chemistry as applied to agriculture at Yale, and one who had studied with Liebig and who consequently knew something of both science and agriculture, furnishes perhaps the best appraisal of the situation given by a contemporary:

The farmer is overwhelmed with new theories, each more valuable than all its predecessors; now he is to use one kind of manure, and neglect all others; next he learns that this first is of no use, but that another is infallible; one writer says that open fields and deep plowing are cardinal points in the rules of a good husbandman, but a second assures the reader that if he can shade his land enough he need care for little more. What is to be done? Every man of sense becomes, after a time, disgusted with these contradictions, and retires in utter despair of obtaining the knowledge which he really desires. The editors of our agricultural papers are not free from blame in this state of things; many of them publish, either from ignorance or want of independence, every mass of crude notions that is sent to them, and thus help to confuse still more effectually the plain seeker after truth. ⁸¹

Consequently, concluded Norton, the farmer, "the unlucky martyr to science, or to pretended science, finally gives up in despair."

Sometimes the budding scientist felt he was the martyr. To illustrate: an article appeared in one farm journal and was reprinted in a second in which the argument was put forth that from three-fifths to four-fifths of the labor

expended in hauling manure to the field was wasted, because chemistry showed that from sixty to eighty *per cent* of manure was water; but, concluded the scientist, let a man

dare to advance so strictly correct a statement as this, and instantly some hobby-riding individual . . . crams down the throat of the daring experimenter the opinions of "a dozen practical farmers in my neighborhood who have worked a farm as man and boy for forty years." What can the bookworm say? Here are 480 combined years of practical experience opposed to him, and they agree that he knows nothing about it! ⁸²

It is easy for one viewing the situation from the vantage point of the present to understand the practical farmer's contempt for such book-farming; likewise, if the "daring experimenter" lacked experience in farming, it is just as plain why he felt a bit of the martyr complex. Agriculture, being "both a science and an art," ⁸³ required experience as well as experiment.

Despite misunderstandings and word battles, men's agricultural practices were improving. Their practices were often better than the "scientific" explanation of them. For example, a Midwest cattle-show speaker explained the now well-known principle of frequent cultivation to retain moisture in the soil by saying, "the surface of the ground when in a loose friable state, does not part with the electricity but retards it"; consequently, by "keeping the soil well cultivated the electric fluid necessary for the production of perfect plants is retained in the soil even when rain is to a great extent wanting." ⁸⁴

Lack of scientific certainty at that time was no monopoly of agriculture; as Professor Charles Upham Shepard told one agricultural audience, "the limited prevalence of scientific information" was a defect "shared by the people generally of all pursuits and professions." ⁸⁵ There was wisdom in a *Southern Planter* editorial which said the scientific laws

involved in agriculture embraced a field so large, and had been so little explored, that men needed to be discoverers for some time before they became teachers. In this faith some men labored on, trusting that further experiments would bring them a more perfect knowledge of "those laws which govern the material substances on the earth."⁸⁶ Others, if one can credit Solon Robinson's account of a certain type of cottonseed selling in a Southern state for a thousand dollars a bushel, or ten cents a seed,⁸⁷ were still "searching for the miraculous seed, the means which without any further supply of nourishment to a soil scarcely rich enough to be sprinkled with indigenous plants . . . would produce crops of grain a hundredfold."⁸⁸

Meanwhile, "confused and confounded by half a score of contradictory theories,"⁸⁹ the "plow-joggers" carried on their contest with the "book-farmers,"⁹⁰ and the advancement of scientific farming by courses of agriculture had to wait upon the supplying of a great need, namely, "an educational institution of a high order" where men may "develop new truths in agriculture" and "at which teachers and authors may be qualified to discharge in a creditable manner, their respective duties." Without this, the author of the agricultural section of the Patent Office *Report* for 1852 told his readers, "we can never begin to study aright either agriculture or the mechanic arts."⁹¹

Chapter 8

THE PRE-CIVIL WAR DECADE: 1852-1861

Agriculturists Unite and Divide

Despite many persistent problems the country-life forces went surging forward in the 1852-61 decade. Several forces contributed to their growing strength.

There was a significant increase in the number of farm periodicals—over fifty *per cent* more new publications than in any preceding decade, according to Gilbert Tucker's list.¹ The total, according to one estimate in 1857, was given as "nearly a hundred agricultural and horticultural papers in the Northern states."² In fact, one Northern agricultural editor who was at the time serving as agricultural clerk in the Patent Office expressed the opinion that there were too many such periodicals.³ The popular price of farm papers was evidently a dollar per year.⁴ Their wide circulation appeared "remarkable" to a visitor from England,⁵ and one editor estimated the weekly (and monthly) total at 280,000 copies.⁶ Whatever the exact figure may have been, the circulation seemed noteworthy to men who in their boyhood had never seen such a paper.⁷

Subscribers were more than passive recipients of editorial instruction disseminated by these journals. Many submitted lessons from their own experience for the benefit of the larger group. The *Prairie Farmer* had 137 reader-correspondents listed in the index of one volume;⁸ the *Country Gentleman* in six months published 914 contributions from

440 correspondents;⁹ the *Genesee Farmer* listed 132 correspondents in the index of the 1860 volume, with up to as many as twenty-seven items from a single individual.¹⁰ Since they provided such an interchange of thought, the farm journals, in addition to their vocational-educational value, helped to rouse the spirit of unity and group-consciousness among agriculturists.¹¹

The nature of the various publications varied with the interests, education, and purposes of the moving spirits behind them. Naturally, what a man worked at before becoming an editor affected his views. Charles Fox, senior editor of the *Detroit Farmer's Companion and Horticultural Gazette* (1851-54), and J.A. Wight, junior editor of the *Prairie Farmer* for several years, were former ministers, with the interest in people that such a profession would indicate. J.A. Hoyt, of the *Wisconsin Farmer* was a physician by training. John Jay Mapes, of the *Working Farmer* (1849-63), was a chemist and "consulting agriculturist," interested primarily in fertilizers and related matters.

Editor Daniel Lee, of the *Genesee Farmer* and of the *Southern Cultivator*, was an M.D. by training and also something of a politician. His medical interest is seen in his concern for treating the "night soil" of cities so that it could be returned to increase the fertility of the land and, by being removed, protect city dwellers against disease.¹² His political bent is seen in the fact that he secured the agricultural clerkship in the Patent Office. It is also revealed in an editorial in the *Southern Cultivator* in which he urged the South to establish agricultural schools ahead of the North and thereby "shame the latter for their want of enterprise." Both inclinations are seen in the concluding paragraph of this editorial: "The sectional spirit of the North is nothing but an empty bladder, blown to its fullest extension, which a pin might puncture greatly to the relief of the patient."¹³

The publishers of the *New England Farmer* at mid-century were also dealers in farm implements and supplies. There was nothing except identical addresses, however, to

acquaint their readers with this fact. Hence farmers seeking true information about the performance of new implements like mowing machines would have no means of knowing that their editors might not be impartial judges of a mowing contest, and might publish such reports as would promote the sale of their own line of implements rather than those of some competitor.¹⁴

In the 1850's the *American Agriculturist* came into the hands of a publisher who developed it into an advertising sheet. Over a period of years the space given to contributors' letters diminished and that given to advertising increased until in 1860 there were four to six pages of advertisements; these, at the announced rates, would have meant five hundred to seven hundred dollars per issue for advertising.¹⁵ In 1859 the periodical began to carry in each issue the statement that "the teachings of the *Agriculturist* are confined to no State or Territory, but are adapted to the wants of all sections of the country."¹⁶ This indicates either that those in charge were inexperienced in agriculture and hence really unqualified for editing a farm paper, or that the lure of profits from advertising loomed larger than service to their readers. The editors calculated their circulation for 1859, not on the basis of paid subscribers, but on the amount of paper used.¹⁷ Made aware of some of the dangers of misleading advertisements, the publishers replied that they exercised "reasonable carefulness" in admitting them, but stated that their responsibility ended there. Even the quality of the paper used in the *Agriculturist*, when compared with that used by Buel, Downing, or Ruffin, bears witness to the contrasting motives of the editor-publishers.

The editors of some papers, and some of the correspondents, manifested concern for cultural matters as well as agriculture. Such a country-life point of view is especially noteworthy in the first volume of the *Ohio Valley Farmer*. There are many short articles, poems and quotations aimed at getting the farmer to focus his attention on something higher than his daily bread and his bank account. There were

articles on what would be called "character education" today; others on the use of leisure; still others on factors making for good health, such as eating, bathing, sleep, prevention of disease, and ventilation. There were poems: one on "The Phantom Chase" after fame; one on "Doing Good"—by living for a purpose; one entitled "I Love Not City Life," which sought to deglamorize city living. There were reprints from Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" and from Whittier's "Maud Muller." Other articles dealt with the dignity of labor and the folly of hoarding money for children to quarrel over and squander.¹⁸

In similar vein, editor Sullivan D. Harris, of the *Ohio Cultivator*, made twenty-four contributions to his paper under the heading of "Rural Discourses": some of his topics were "Sociability among Farmers in Winter"; "Union in Pursuit of Knowledge"; "The Land our Refuge"; "Honor and Cherish the Wife"; and "Our Duty to our Children."¹⁹ Another publication, the *Southern Planter*, carried articles on "Body and Brain"; "Walking as Exercise"; "Wanted: A Young Man of Industry, Integrity, etc." This paper, also, carried as much as a page of poetry in one issue.²⁰

In addition to the increase in number of farm periodicals, there were a goodly number of books on agriculture and horticulture coming from the press. Including new editions of earlier works, there were forty-seven different "books, pamphlets, and so forth on matters pertaining to agriculture" published in the United States in the year 1854-55.²¹

While the quantity of agricultural publications appeared ample, critics found the quality of "new" agricultural information being put out as not too satisfactory. There was not enough new material in the forty or fifty volumes being put out by agricultural societies, the Patent Office, and other sources each year, averred Daniel Lee, to fill one book of six hundred pages. Meanwhile, he continued, "quacks in agricultural science and literature, and speculators in farm implements, manures, neat stock, sheep, swine, seeds, and fruit trees . . . were reaping a rich harvest."²² Many of the books,

agreed a speaker before the Concord Farmers' Club, were "of little value; some of them . . . worse than nothing," because they misled the reader; some were "mere compilations from other works, made by men who . . . had neither sufficient judgment nor experience to correct the errors and mis-statements" set forth in the originals.²³ As in England two hundred years earlier, too few men were sufficiently fearful of "poisoning" the "public mind" to refrain voluntarily from writing or publishing articles about matters whereof they lacked experimental or firsthand knowledge; one of the needs pointed out by Gabriel Plattes in 1644 still existed, namely, means of getting the *truth* on agricultural matters.²⁴ Old teachings needed to be tested, and new facts discovered; this need, state colleges of agriculture with experiment stations were later to supply.

Corresponding with the increase in the number of publications for the farmer was the increase in agricultural organizations at all levels, from the local community up. These increases indicated the growing strength of the farmer movement. At the state level, for example, whereas there had been only three or four organizations prior to 1848, there were twenty-five by 1857, seven of them south of Maryland and the Ohio River.²⁵

The county societies were also increasing. In 1852, Eben Newton reported to Congress that there were between two hundred fifty and three hundred county societies in the nation,²⁶ which seemed to him a large number. By 1858, however, the totals showed seven hundred and ninety-nine agricultural societies, forty-three horicultural societies, and seventy "agricultural and mechanical societies."²⁷ These were scattered through thirty-six states and territories, including California, Oregon and Washington; but six Northern states, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa, accounted for half the total number of organizations. The South had one-seventh of the nine hundred total, Virginia and Texas leading with twenty-three each.²⁸

The rapid growth of county societies was due in part to

the stimulus of legislative grants of funds; in part to economic distress resulting from the depression of 1857. A third factor was the growing recognition of the educational and social value of county organizations with their annual fairs. "In every stage of human life," wrote one agricultural correspondent, "man needs something fitting as recreation, as a stimulant, as something to amuse and encourage him, while making moves for reformation and improvement in his vocation." It is "man's true nature to be social," he concluded, and it is "social"—or sociable—to meet at county fairs.²⁹

Farmers went home from these exhibitions, wrote John A. Bedell, "with new ideas and increased zeal; . . . pleased and rejuvenated." They had learned something useful and had enjoyed recreation at the same time.³⁰ The fairs helped them, said another, to have a higher estimation of farming.³¹

The county exhibitions afforded farmers opportunity to get away from the daily routine and see what others were doing. With a better perspective and a broader view of their work, farming loomed larger in their thought. Perhaps sincere words in addresses at the fairs also helped self-respect: "Pride, emulation, conscious rectitude, honorable ambition," Levi Hubbell told farmers attending a fair at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, are as necessary to successful efforts in farming as in other vocations. "Our agricultural population can never be what they ought to be," he continued, "until every man walks abroad not only in the dignity of his own nature, but in the just pride of his own calling."³² Wrote another, "As well might men argue against railroads as against Agricultural Fairs."³³

A study of the premiums offered at the county fairs affords one some conception of what goals the county agriculture societies were working toward in the years before the Civil War. The amount of the premiums would vary as between richer and poorer counties, but, in general, one would expect that the highest premium offered would be for something deemed important by the fair officials. According to the Patent Office *Agricultural Report* for 1858, most fre-

quently the highest award went for the best livestock,³⁴ or for the farm best cultivated, best managed, or most improved.³⁵ Reapers and other labor-saving machinery were also considered important.³⁶

Culture as well as profitable agriculture, however, was being advanced by county societies. The committee to judge the best farm in Jefferson County, New York, the home of one of the oldest societies, included the following among the points on which farms should be rated: a well-cultivated garden with every species of vegetable; strawberry and asparagus beds; a fruit orchard; also, "dooryards laid with grass, and rose- and flowerbeds, and shaded by ornamental trees, indicating to the passer-by the dwelling of taste, health, and comfort."³⁷ In Fairfield County, Connecticut, the highest prize was "fifty dollars for lines of trees planted by the roadside."³⁸ In Mississippi the best variety of fruit trees was thought worthy of the highest award in one county; in a second county, the former "bale worshippers" were making offerings for the best essay on plantation hygiene.³⁹ In another section of the cotton country, South Carolina, efforts were being made to interest farmers in fine cows, in orchards and vineyards, or in a wide variety of fruits.⁴⁰ This seems important both from the standpoint of health and the general benefits of diversified farming. An effort to interest the younger generation in farm life is seen in the offer, in Niagara County, New York, of forty dollars for the best plowing by lads under eighteen.⁴¹

Something of farmers' faith in ideas and education at this time might be inferred from the fact that in one Vermont county the highest premium offered was fifteen dollars, but fifty to seventy-five dollars was paid for an address;⁴² in Wyoming County, New York, they paid thirty dollars for an address but only two dollars and a diploma to the winner of a first prize.⁴³ In Dane County, Wisconsin, twenty-five dollars was paid for agricultural or horticultural essays, but awards of only one to ten dollars for animals or articles, and a large portion of that was paid in agricultural periodicals or books

selected by the winners.⁴⁴ The Putnam County [New York] Society gave the highest award, fifty dollars, for the best essay, locally written, on farming as applied to that county.⁴⁵ In Chester County, Pennsylvania, the awards included three hundred to four hundred dollars' worth of agricultural periodicals.⁴⁶ A district society in Georgia offered fifty dollars for the best essay on reclaiming waste lands; it also claimed that "horizontal, or contour," plowing was being experimented with.⁴⁷

In some other counties, in states ranging from Maine to Georgia and from Massachusetts to Wisconsin, the highest money at the fair went to the winner in a competition that did not always serve the purposes of a finer rural life, namely a horse race.⁴⁸ One agricultural correspondent explained the races by saying that the farm boys were interested in changing "the old slow-moving plow horses" for a general-purpose animal that could "toil at the plow willingly and yet on these annual holidays show a proper speed and merit."⁴⁹ As roads improved, general-purpose breeds like the Morgan would provide faster transportation as well as pull a plow, and in some counties a prize was offered for "the best horse" or for a general-purpose horse.⁵⁰ But as regards racing, the Ohio State Board, in a resolution passed in 1858, stated that paying a premium "for speed of horses, simply as such," was "a perversion of original design."⁵¹

In some areas racing was regarded as a serious problem. One New York State editor in 1857 asserted that fairs had become "regularly organized horse races, with a few extras thrown in . . . to give an agricultural coloring to the affair" and to attract the farmers, their families, *and their twenty-five-cent pieces*. The best part of the fair grounds was taken for the track, the seats "all arranged there," while the agricultural exhibits were "crowded into the narrowest compass, in some out-of-the-way corner."⁵² A similar criticism spoke of "plodding oxen, stupid swine, and patient lambs" trying to compete with the horse "showing off his speed at the rate of 2:40 or less." Accompanying the races were "excitement and

gambling" which, even under the best regulations, were "as prejudicial to good morals . . . as to good husbandry."⁵³

Since a good race might increase the size of the crowd, no doubt racing was related, in some counties, to the perennial problem of raising funds for premiums.⁵⁴ In the fifties this problem was being solved in some instances, not by attractions to swell gate receipts, but by giving very small premiums—two or three dollars for the highest.⁵⁵ In some counties the total value of the premiums offered was under one hundred dollars,⁵⁶ which was the amount put up for the fastest horse in another county where the total awards were valued at \$1,500.⁵⁷

Horse racing was not the only crowd-drawing device resorted to. In five counties the highest prize went for "female equestrianism,"⁵⁸ which, before the days of short skirts and shrinking bathing suits, probably afforded considerable excitement. Other fund-raising devices criticized were: "the sports of the ring," "Negro minstrels," jewelry-gambling establishments, and liquor booths.⁵⁹ These criticisms, together with the rivalry between different towns to get the annual exhibitions,⁶⁰ suggest the possibility that in some instances the farmer's interests were deemed of secondary consideration—secondary to those of town merchants and others interested in drawing a crowd. Evidently in some communities the fairs were already becoming merely places to find excitement and diversion rather than being "true festivals for the whole community"⁶¹ like the early fairs at Pittsfield.⁶²

Below the level of county agricultural societies, with their annual fairs, there were at mid-century a growing number of neighborhood groups, the feeder roots of the growing farmers' movement.⁶³

In 1854 the editor of the *Detroit Farmers' Companion and Horticultural Gazette* expressed his belief that "the Agricultural body must be in perfect health, for its immense pulsations reached the remotest extremes, and a wonderful activity . . . was going on there"; he noted that

even the new territory of Minnesota had a Territorial Agricultural Society, one county society, and several farmers' clubs.⁶⁴

The line of demarcation between farmers' clubs and county organizations was not clearly drawn. Usually the county society owned or leased some real estate and held only an annual fair, while the smaller unit owned only a library or a few books and held more frequent meetings.⁶⁵ Middlesex County, Massachusetts, reported two district organizations smaller than the county society and larger than farmers' clubs.⁶⁶ The work of an agricultural experiment station is suggested by the report of the Elm Dale Agricultural Society of Weakley County, Tennessee, which, according to the report, owned and operated a model and experimental farm of thirty acres; monthly meetings were held on the farm, and all who came were regarded as members.⁶⁷

From an educational point of view the smaller Farmers' Club or township association had advantages over county organizations. It could provide for more frequent meetings of smaller groups.⁶⁸ Each club could, if it so desired, have an annual fair on a scale that did not involve great expense or great managerial ability, to which farmers of the neighborhood would bring displays of their grains, fruits and vegetables.⁶⁹ Some of these fairs offered no money premiums.⁷⁰ One commentator maintained that the small local exhibition was more valuable than the county fair because "in too many instances" the latter had "degenerated into mere catch-penny shows, by the introduction of greased poles and races, both biped and quadruped." From the standpoint of education, this person claimed the Farmers' Club, with face-to-face relationships, had advantages over even the agricultural periodical, for there was "a magic in the voice, the eye, the hand of the speaker," that the pen could not equal.⁷¹

The social values of the more frequent informal neighborhood get-togethers were appreciated by many.⁷² "From time immemorial a standing and valid objection to 'farm life' has been that it is unsocial and lonely," wrote one proponent

of such groups, and "we hail the establishment of farmers' clubs as one of the best things of our day."⁷³ Against the background of poor roads and a paucity of social contacts, the appeal of small group meetings that were socially stimulating as well as informative, can be understood—especially if the ladies were included. Many clubs did include wives,⁷⁴ and at times whole families.⁷⁵ "By all means take your wife and daughters with you," urged one enthusiast, "for what the ladies are not allowed to enjoy will not continue long."⁷⁶

Other advantages of the Farmers' Club as compared with either the county society, or the Grange of a later period, were that meetings could be held weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly, as the group desired,⁷⁷ and dues and initiation fees could be very small, even omitted.⁷⁸ Since meetings were informal, one did not have to be a public speaker or a "wire-pulling official" to be a participant.⁷⁹ No knowledge of organization or of parliamentary procedure was required.⁸⁰ They could meet in homes or in larger places of assembly, depending on the size and the wishes of the group.⁸¹ Some clubs had lectures;⁸² in others there was a library or collection of books for members to draw out,⁸³ as in the Grange later.

Apparently the more formal type of organization and program was experimented with by some local societies. One of them, when first started, followed the plan of having the members address the presiding officer when they spoke; as a result, little was said. After the meeting, however, the members gathered around the stove and talked, which, suggested the writer, indicated the "real way to carry on a club."⁸⁴ S. L. Boardman agreed that if a few neighbors were willing to assemble with their wives at each others' homes and spend the evening in conversation upon agricultural subjects, in some of which the ladies might join—with perhaps some choice fruit for refreshments—he did not see that "a constitution and bylaws could any better govern them than their own mutual agreements and consent."⁸⁵ In his opinion,

"the less display and form," the better the results were likely to be.

Some of the economic possibilities of such local groups were suggested in a communication to the *Prairie Farmer* from H. A. Cyrus in 1846, twenty years before O. H. Kelley started the Grange. Wrote Cyrus, these "associations—societies—lyceums—call them what you will" should be found in every neighborhood, village or town; they could discuss production, markets, transportation, and prices.⁸⁶

Their suitability to rural needs is suggested by the fact that fifteen states had farmers' clubs or similar organizations.⁸⁷ The membership in local units varies from one limited to twelve in Gloucester County, Virginia,⁸⁸ to open-membership organizations of thirteen, twenty-four, thirty-two, forty or fifty members; four clubs in Northern states claimed memberships of 100 or more.⁸⁹ As to the total number of farmers' clubs by 1860, no estimate was found.⁹⁰ By the end of the decade they were "quietly progressing in numbers and influence" and were "beginning to assume an importance never before possessed."⁹¹ One enthusiast said they would "support many movements in town, state, and national government, for mental, moral and social progress. . . ." ⁹²

To know about the widespread, growing movement of farmer "locals" in the pre-war decade helps one better to understand the Granger movement following 1867.⁹³ O.H. Kelley, organizer of the Grange was in 1854 the corresponding secretary of the Crow River Farmers' Club of Minnesota, which charged a five dollar membership fee—the same as the Grange later charged—and which at first planned only monthly meetings of the executive committee. Its purpose, as reported by Secretary Kelley, was "to advance agriculture, to cooperate with the U.S. Agricultural Society and the Territorial Society, to introduce livestock, labor-saving machinery, and to establish an Agricultural Library."⁹⁴

When Kelley later broached the subject of a Grange, the first letter of inquiry and encouragement he received (outside

the little circle with whom he talked over his plans) was from Anson Bartlett, of North Madison, in the Western Reserve District of Ohio,⁹⁵ where "many of the township and district clubs" were reported as being "unusually active and successful" in the year 1858, eight years before Kelley started the Grange.⁹⁶ Kelley and his associates in 1866-68 contributed a name, a ritual, and a secret-society type of organization in a social milieu where local units were already growing and at a time when people were asking "how the unity of action" of agriculturists might be achieved.⁹⁷

Of the total number of farmers who belonged to farmers' clubs, county agricultural societies, and similar organizations, no estimate was found. The total membership claimed by 238 county or district units that furnished the Patent Office with figures in 1858 was 89,647; and twenty-eight of the farmers' clubs or neighborhood units reported a total of 1914 members.⁹⁸ These 265 organizations, however, constituted less than a third of the 799 that made some reply to the Patent Office circular requesting a report on number of members, *et cetera*, in 1857-58.⁹⁹ —before the depression's stimulating effect had spent itself. Perhaps a minimum of 250,000 members,¹⁰⁰ therefore, would be a fair estimate.

With eight hundred organizations or more throughout the country, the farm group was perhaps strong enough to make its influence felt in Congress if they became united. "Farmers unite," urged the agricultural press; "the time will never come when a Congress of politicians will do what ought to be done for the great farming interests of the country unless this interest is organized."¹⁰¹ In December, 1850, William Lawrence offered a resolution in a meeting of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture asking the president of the board to "prepare and report to the General Assembly, in the annual report for 1850, a plan to be approved of by the board for the formation of a National Agricultural and Industrial Society"; he suggested that a copy be sent to the Governor of each of the other states, inviting their cooperation, but Ohio postponed action.¹⁰² In the meanwhile, the Massachusetts board,

under the guidance of its president, Marshall P. Wilder, led in getting an organization movement underway.¹⁰³ In 1852, 125 representatives from twenty-three states and territories met at Washington and organized the United States Agricultural Society.¹⁰⁴

Those who urged unity to secure Congressional attention and action would appear to have been justified, for in 1857,¹⁰⁵ a year after the national society passed a resolution requesting it, Congress voted the agricultural office an appropriation of \$35,000. This amount, though not large, was more than the total appropriations for agriculture had been during the preceding sixty-five years of the Federal Government's existence!

Agriculturists wanted more, however, than increased appropriations for an agricultural clerkship set up as a subsidiary of the Patent Office; they wanted a government bureau, under the direction of a man selected for his zeal and knowledge about agricultural matters. Shall we have a Secretary of the Navy, a Secretary of War "to provide for human desolation," and yet no distinct department or separate bureau of agriculture? asked William Turner, addressing, a county agricultural society at Wooster, Ohio.¹⁰⁶

As early as 1838 Congress had been petitioned to establish a new department to promote the interests of agriculture and the mechanic arts.¹⁰⁷ At the annual meeting of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture in 1846, a resolution was offered urging the establishment of a Department of Agriculture.¹⁰⁸ In 1848 John S. Skinner memorialized Congress on this same subject, urging it to do something to promote "the great, peaceful, civilizing employment of mankind," since the perfection of agriculture "promoted the highest state of civilization."¹⁰⁹ In December, 1849, President Taylor recommended the establishment of a Bureau of Agriculture,¹¹⁰ and the next year President Fillmore made a similar recommendation.¹¹¹

Early in 1850, Downing, in the *Horticulturist*, expressed his wish that the "dozens of agricultural journals and hundreds of thousands of readers" would rouse the farming class to "a

sense of its rights in the state.”¹¹² In 1850-51 Congress received “resolutions of several state legislatures, agricultural societies, and various petitions” in favor of establishing an agricultural bureau.¹¹³ The committee on Agriculture, to whom these were referred, asked that the matter be tabled, but a minority report recommended the establishment of an agricultural bureau in the Department of the Interior.¹¹⁴ More resolutions and petitions were received by Congress later,¹¹⁵ but one-thousand-dollar increases in the small agricultural office appropriation seemed to be the only result.¹¹⁶

Certainly larger appropriations would have afforded farmers little help if used merely to multiply the activities of the agricultural clerkship in the Patent Office as then carried on.¹¹⁷ The editor of the *American Agriculturist* told his readers that any one of “half a dozen agricultural periodicals” provided an “annual fund of information far exceeding this Agricultural Bureau Report in value”; furthermore, he continued, the agricultural periodicals reached ten times as many people as did the *Report*, “distributed as it . . . [was] among the people through the favoritism of the members of Congress.”¹¹⁸ The editor of the *Yearbook of Agriculture* labeled the bureau *Report* as “a mass of unsystematized matter, containing a few things good, some pernicious, and much that is worthless.”¹¹⁹ There is truth in both these criticisms, but both originated, it should be noted, with men who had agricultural publications to sell, with which free copies of the Agricultural Bureau *Report* might compete.

Another activity of the Agricultural Bureau as then conducted was the annual distribution of free seeds; these, like the *Report*, were distributed through members of Congress by use of the mails. This practice, too, was under criticism. The expenditure by the federal government of only one dollar in a thousand for the fostering of agriculture was bad enough, wrote one editor, but when that pittance was used to send ignorant and inefficient clerks on pleasure tours to Europe to buy up “old, impure and worthless seeds—cast off by European dealers,” seeds which only clutter

up the mails and occupy the time of busy farmers with season-long experiments, only to find in the end that "they . . . [had] been gulled"—in such a situation, it was "high time the whole thing was wiped out, to make room for something better."¹²⁰ This editor did not suggest a better use for the appropriation. Closer study of his criticism reveals that he too was an interested competitor who distributed free seeds—three packages with every subscription to his paper.¹²¹

There were other antagonisms to be met besides those of agricultural editors who feared a stronger bureau or department would offer them more serious competition. At the organization meeting of the National Agricultural Society in 1852, a cleavage in the ranks of agriculturists had appeared. Despite the foreseen need to keep the organization "out of politics,"¹²² when a committee brought in a report recommending "establishment of a Department or Bureau of Agriculture by Congress," a prolonged and acrimonious discussion "embracing rival political doctrines" resulted.¹²³ During the debate, in which "gentlemen from nearly every part of the Union took part," many of the important political questions of the day were introduced, "such as the tariff, homestead bill," and others. As a result, the society, instead of recommending anything specific, finally resolved to ask Congress "to take action upon the subject" and give such aid as would be best calculated to advance the interests of agriculture. From a superficial point of view, peace was re-established: "mutual explanations were made and the utmost harmony and brotherhood of feeling were restored."¹²⁴

The next year at the first annual meeting of the National Agricultural Society a resolution was passed recommending creation of a Department of Agriculture. Although some of the representatives may have doubted the wisdom of the measure, "none ventured to oppose the resolution."¹²⁵ This did not mean that the Southerners had been won over, for later in the same year there was organized at Montgomery, Alabama, the "Agricultural Association of the Planting

States.”¹²⁶ The agricultural forces of the nation were uniting—but in two different organizations, in two opposing camps!

That the deep cleavage between the slavery and antislavery forces should thus divide the agriculturists of the nation was a deep disappointment to all those who had hoped to see the farmers united in a relationship that would help allay the sectional differences observable in politics. They had hoped that the National Agricultural Society would bring people from the North and South together in the national fairs, thereby strengthening the “natural ties” binding the states together. In countless instances, stated one Ohio promoter of the national organization, “by being brought into close contact, parties who have been the deadliest enemies to each other on matters of abstract principle, have become the warmest and most social friends.”¹²⁷ Another Ohioan made the same point: annual agricultural meetings might soften the rancorous feelings engendered by political strife and sectional differences in education.¹²⁸

The efforts in the direction of unity by agriculturist leaders and editors in the decade or two before the Civil War are worth noting. All agriculturists are brothers, General Patrick Henry told his Mississippi audience in 1844, whether they grow cotton or wheat.¹²⁹ Solon Robinson was welcomed as a brother agriculturist on his good-will tour in the South and Southwest in 1844-45,¹³⁰ and about the same time Alexander McDonald, of Eufaula, Alabama, met with warm hospitality on his tour into Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri.¹³¹ “We will cheerfully ‘go halfway,’” the editors of the *Southern Cultivator* told Dr. Warder of the [Cincinnati] *Western Horticultural Review* a few years later. “We want to show . . . you the broad and lordly plantations of the ‘great staple’—the contented and happy Uncle Toms . . .”; in return, the Cincinnati visitor might infuse a little of the stirring energy and go-ahead spirit of the “Great West” into the “Sunny South,” “teaching us how to cover our barren hillsides with heavy clusters of the blushing grape, and to make our gullied and worn fields gush with ‘Sparkling

Catawba.' " ¹³² Nor were such efforts confined to the South and West. In 1853, Hon. William S. Rives of Virginia made the address at the New York State Fair. He said the invitation inviting him to speak showed that no Mason-Dixon line, no sectional interest, placed a barrier to the sympathies and fellowship of American farmers "bound together by the ties of a common pursuit." ¹³³

The thread of a desire for national unity runs through the record of the meetings of the United States Agricultural Society. ¹³⁴ Reading between the lines one sees fear of disunity and a desire for accord even at the cost of some compromise. George Washington Parke Custis, called upon by President Marshall P. Wilder for the valedictory to close the proceedings of the fifth annual meeting of the society (1857), concluded his remarks with a plea for unity: "Continue your devotion to this bulwark of our country, agriculture; continue inviolate our great Constitution; obey our self-imposed laws; preserve our blessed Union; and our republic will be immortal." ¹³⁵

Great national exhibitions, by means of which agriculturists of the different sections would be brought together to become better acquainted, were held annually beginning in 1853 and continuing through 1859; all except two of them, however, were held in the North. ¹³⁶ At the fifth annual exhibition, in Louisville, 1857, Governor Morehead closed his remarks at the banquet with a plea to recognize the reciprocal dependence of one section upon another; and the toast to New Hampshire was: "May the Union of States be as lasting as her granite hills." ¹³⁷

There were other manifestations of the desire for unity, and other efforts in the direction of furthering it. (And anyone who realizes what the Civil War cost the cause of finer rural life in the United States appreciates the rightness of these efforts to cultivate friendships and maintain peaceful relations between the rural North and the rural South.) In 1858 "the first National Convention of Agricultural Editors ever held in the United States" met in September at New

York City on the occasion of the biennial convention of the American Pomological Society. Only eighteen or twenty of the "fifty journals" were represented, but an organization was set up, and a committee appointed to make plans and set a time for another convention of the "entire Agricultural and Horticultural Press of the Country."¹³⁸

The more the politicians became divided into factions, the stronger some agricultural leaders urged unity of the agricultural interests. "If we could now have a convention of farmers," urged F. H. Gordon of Tennessee in 1859, with "no politicians of any party," such an "assembly of talented farmers from all parts of the Union" might do away with sectional discord and materially change the policy of the federal government for the better. Mental culture, agriculture, and industry would all be advanced. "What say the editors of our thirty-eight Agricultural journals?" he concluded. "What say the numerous able contributors? Shall we have a convention? Shall it be in the year 1859?"¹³⁹

The distrust of politicians implied in Gordon's letter was one thing upon which both Northern and Southern agriculturists agreed. It may be found in the first volume of Ruffin's *Register*,¹⁴⁰ and in the last volume of the *Cultivator* that Buel edited: "In one respect, all parties agree. They all foster that pestilential spirit." The political conflict, stated the article in the *Cultivator*, becomes a struggle not for principle but for victory, "and the desperateness, the wickedness of such struggles, is the great burden of history."¹⁴¹ Editor Holmes of the *Maine Farmer* wrote of the "utter and shameless rotten-heartedness of the political leaders of each and every party."¹⁴² A correspondent to the *Southern Cultivator* voiced his complaint: We farmers pay most of the taxes and send men to the capital to make laws for us; when they get there, instead of thinking about how to improve the state of Georgia, they talk about who shall go to Congress and how to help their political party. He concluded, "It is time we had our rights."¹⁴³

There were other indications of farmers' dissatisfaction

with the workings of the representative system of that day.¹⁴⁴ The first article in the constitution of the "Agricultural Association of the Planting States," 1853, called for "the exclusion of all subjects purely political."¹⁴⁵ Whereas some nations were "ridden" by kings, some by priests, and still others by nobles, one Northern speaker told his audience, "America has a heavy burden of politicians on its foolish back." Their "weak appeal to the prejudices and passions" of the community could only be effective, he explained, because "where the carcass of ignorance is, there will the demagogues be gathered together."¹⁴⁶ An "*extempore* poem" given to an agricultural society struck the same note:

Avoid the man who always pleads
for party right or wrong;
Whether a lawyer, or a priest,
he'll make your fetters strong.¹⁴⁷

Several critics blamed, not politicians in general, but the lawyer-politician. Evidently the years had not dissipated the fear of the growing influence and power of lawyers expressed by Hector St. John before the American Revolution.¹⁴⁸ Two hundred of the 223 men in Congress were lawyers, Governor Johnson told his Tennessee audience.¹⁴⁹ In the nation there are 4,500,000 farmers and mechanics to 24,000 lawyers, E.G. Eastman reported to his constituency in the same state, yet this small fraction of the population "make all the laws and rule everything, both state and national, while we merely do the voting and elevate them to office."¹⁵⁰

While agriculturist leaders agreed about distrusting lawyer-politicians, and agreed about the neglect of agricultural interests by legislators,¹⁵¹ they did not agree on the matter of whether the state or the federal government should provide the fostering aid that agriculture needed. State legislative aid was much needed, wrote one Southern agricultural correspondent, but as for federal aid, "let us alone."¹⁵²

Southern planters, like most people, weighed new pro-

posals such as that for a new Department of Agriculture from the viewpoint of how it would affect them and what they conceived to be their interests. The real grounds of their fear and opposition came out when Congress was debating a bill to provide public lands for higher education. If you can use either money or lands to establish agricultural colleges, challenged Senator Mason of Virginia, can you not

establish a school system in each state for general purposes of education? Would it not be in the power of a majority of Congressmen to fasten upon the South that peculiar system of free schools in the New England States which I believe would tend, I will not say to demoralize, but to destroy that peculiar character which I am happy to believe belongs to the great mass of the Southern people.¹⁵³

The Southern aristocracy was struggling to preserve its way of life and its political power. Emotions of anger and fear must have gripped their hearts as they saw "signs of defection" among the "democratic farmers of the uplands."¹⁵⁴ "You slaveholders," asserted the author of *The Impending Crisis*, "have absorbed the wealth of our communities in sending your own children to Northern seminaries and colleges, and in employing Yankee teachers to officiate exclusively in your own families, and have refused to us the limited privileges of common schools. . . ." ¹⁵⁵ While educational opportunities would have increased the chance of the good life for all poor-white farmers and mechanics of the South, it would have made them more able and ready to assert themselves politically and thereby have diminished the power of the aristocracy, and it certainly would not have strengthened the institution of slavery. Planters evidently felt that their position in the pyramid of society was precarious enough.¹⁵⁶ Hence, education, long hailed as the panacea for the ills of agriculture, was opposed whether in the form of free schools or of land-grant colleges of agriculture.

The Morrill land-grant college bill grew out of a philosophy of life diametrically opposed to the views of Southern aristocrats. As set forth in the speeches of Jonathan B. Turner, the creative mind behind the industrial university plan, this democratic philosophy upheld ideas and ideals that were anathema to the Old South.

The aim of education, according to Turner, was not to produce the accomplished idler or plausible sophist, the educated hireling or the stubborn conservative ready "to hold back the car of social and moral progress" and oppose "every new idea that dawns upon the world for the good of man."¹⁵⁷ The aim of education, he held, was to make so-called intellectuals into laborious thinkers and industrial classes into "thinking laborers."¹⁵⁸

Education, he held, is a lifelong process and the chief business of each human being. Beginning in the family, it is really never interrupted and can never be completed. It is carried on by the Church and the state as well as the school. The corruption or perversion of any one of these four instrumentalities of education can cripple the work of the other three. The school should prepare the pupil for "natural and easy progress from one stage of mental and moral development and power to another. . . ." The narrow pedantic view that causes some to think of education as limited to what goes on in quarter-days spent in a schoolroom, or to the acquisition of a smattering of language, literature and science, is a snare and a delusion.¹⁵⁹ The daily inculcation of unintelligible Latin and Greek, he believed, had a stultifying effect upon the less acute; whereas for others, so much emphasis on words contributed toward producing that chronic "diarrhea of exhortation," which tended less toward "public health" than many supposed.¹⁶⁰

"The most natural and effectual mental discipline possible for any man," wrote Turner, "arises from setting him to earnest and constant thought about the things he daily does, sees, and handles, and all their connected relations and interests."¹⁶¹ Systems of public education should be designed

with reference to the varied employments of men after school days are over, Turner held, each employment developing its own literature so that one's mental and moral discipline might be continued in connection with his occupation.¹⁶² Challenging both the slaveholding aristocracy and the diploma-holding one, Turner boldly asked, where did Socrates and Franklin and Downing get their education, except in the practical pursuits of life? And, in view of the Biblical record that Adam was a gardener and Jesus a carpenter, he queried, are the pursuits of labor to be regarded as beneath the dignity of rational beings?¹⁶³

Turner, according to his friend, John Kennicott, was neither a "visionary" nor a "leveller," nor even an "enthusiast," but a thoughtful scholar "and the type of man to evolve and develop great practical thoughts, and to sustain them."¹⁶⁴ As chairman of the committee on business at the Farmers' Convention at Granville, Illinois, November, 1951, he had brought a report, the fourth resolution of which was for the establishment of a university for the education of the industrial classes.¹⁶⁵ Following the report, he offered his plan for such an institution.

The university was needed, asserted Turner, because "neither knowledge nor water will run uphill."¹⁶⁶ As another advocate asserted, only such an institution could "reduce to order the immense chaos of isolated facts and disputed questions" set forth in the agricultural journals.¹⁶⁷ For agricultural education to progress aright, professors who were men "of eminent and practical ability" would be required. They would give lectures, conduct investigations, and carry on experiments related to agriculture, animal husbandry, *et cetera*. Necessary equipment would include garden, orchard, farm land, pasture, everything necessary for the successful prosecution of their work on a sound, practical basis.¹⁶⁸

Turner's plan went beyond the establishment of a vocational college of agriculture. It called for instruction on "political, financial, domestic, and manual economy in all industrial processes; for instruction in the true principles of

national, constitutional, and civil law"; also for the study of labor, the laws of courtesy, and community life; for the study of hygiene; of commercial and trade laws; in fact for all studies and sciences which would enlighten any man in any art or employment, or "tend to secure his moral, civil, social, and industrial perfection, as a man."¹⁶⁹ Adhering to the Greek ideal of proportion, he thought education should aim to develop "all the powers and faculties of the human being—physical, mental, moral and social." Just as no one class should be the recipient of an undue share of educational opportunity, so no one faculty should be overdeveloped or underdeveloped.¹⁷⁰

To meet the need, a new educational setup was required, Turner insisted; the problem could not be solved by adding an agricultural department to existing institutions.¹⁷¹ The industrial university should be open to "all classes of students above a fixed age, and for any length of time, whether for three months or seven years," suggested Turner.¹⁷² By means of manual labor on the premises, students might pay part or all of their expenses; he also suggested awarding testimonials of merit "to those who perform their tasks with most promptitude, energy, care, and skill."¹⁷³

Turner's ideas, widely circulated in the agricultural press, met a response similar to Downing's writings earlier, and for the same reason: *the time was ripe*. For decades farmers had been told to make their calling respectable by getting an education. Many people were urging school training as a solution for the farmer's problems, both of culture and agriculture, of social and vocational success.¹⁷⁴ Education for farmers was the "text in every man's mouth."¹⁷⁵

But what type of education? That was the big question. Early in the year 1851 President Edward Hitchcock of Amherst and Marshall P. Wilder of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society brought out the report of what Hitchcock had learned from a study of agricultural schools in Europe. The statement that there were 322 such schools there, several of which received government aid, caused American

farm editors and leaders to demand legislative action.¹⁷⁶ Then in November of that year Turner came forward with his plan, offering a philosophy of education dignifying manual labor, an educational program for an industrial university, and the land-grant college as the means of achieving his aims.¹⁷⁷

To dirt farmers and other manual laborers of the North this type of institution seemed to promise fulfillment of their strivings and aspirations. To the Hinton Helpers of the South—if they had opportunity to read it—it may have seemed the gateway to the promised land; to Southern aristocrats, however, it must have appeared as a subversive influence that might destroy their whole social order. Their concept of democracy was that of ancient Greece: educated citizens supported by slaves in a socially static world. Turner and his followers, on the other hand, were disciples of Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Fellenberg.

How sharply the two groups differed was pointed out by various remarks on labor: "where man and labor are honored, slavery cannot permanently exist."¹⁷⁸ When the "millennium of labor" shall come, said Turner, the farmer or mechanic will be a "hard-handed, able-bodied, strong-minded, whole-souled, all-knowing, all-conquering man," worthy of himself and of the Creator who made all "to do the work of intelligence and freedom, not the drudgery of ignorance and servitude."¹⁷⁹ Agriculturists and other manual laborers were determined that labor and their own manhood should be "honorable." Coals of smoldering resentment needed only a blast like Turner's to fan them into a flame.

"One would suppose," wrote Orrin Guernsey in his "Essay on Labor," "that mankind were running mad, to observe with what reverence they regard those who, by superior cunning, have possessed themselves of the earnings of others, while at the same time they would make sport of the honest laborer who does the world's work." The idle rich, instead of apologizing for "useless hands and idle heads in the midst of God's working world," rather gloried in their idleness. Young men were forsaking the plow and carpenter's tools to "seek a livelihood in a bowling alley, or clerking in . . . [a

grogshop],” because they thought that more respectable.¹⁸⁰

Rural philosopher Guernsey was ready to admit the effect of too much hard labor: “It wears out the body before its time, cripples the mind, debases the soul, blunts the senses, and chills the affections”; under such conditions man “ceases to be a man and becomes a thing.” In a rational social order, however, no one would have to overwork. “Something must be wrong in that state of society where one portion spend their days and nights in debauchery,” and others toil long hours for a precarious existence.¹⁸¹

To despise labor and revere wealth, the readers of the *Ohio Valley Farmer* were told, was a sure way of making criminals: “Men will run any risk to gain a position in society,” to make a good appearance and be classed among the “happy few” who live without labor. This false spirit of aristocracy, concluded the writer, was becoming alarmingly prevalent.¹⁸² “Even prostitution is felt to be less of a disgrace,” wrote Frederick Olmsted, than doing certain types of servant work in a household.¹⁸³ How far disrespect for toil could go—although not without challenge—is suggested by a New Yorker’s objection to a Presidential candidate in 1860 that “the more rails he may have split, the less worthy is he of the gentle, the polished, and the humane.”¹⁸⁴

Judging by the agricultural press, disrespect for labor roused farmers’ reactions more than the evils of slavery *per se*. To assume a love of freedom so deep as to make the rank and file of agricultural workers support a four-year war either to free the Negro or to maintain the Union, presupposes a disinterested self-sacrifice and a philosophical point of view that the education of the majority hardly prepared them to possess. The place where common men were touched by slavery was the matter of the respectability of labor.

Not all the resentment expressed against contemners of labor, however, was aimed at Southern aristocrats. One editorial comment mentioned a different group: “The man of commerce will not always be an aristocrat.” The world, asserted this editor, was about to have “an aristocracy of

common sense.”¹⁸⁵ John A. Kennicott aimed darts at the one per cent of “usurping masters, whether social, educational, or political.” But talking to those whose ears are closed by selfishness and prejudice is of little use: “Acts alone will convince them when the laborer is ready to act.”¹⁸⁶

Something of the impact of the democratic surge is seen by the new emphasis in the agricultural press. John Jay Mapes called his paper, founded in 1849, *The Working Farmer*. Sullivan D. Harris, new associate editor of the *Ohio Cultivator* in 1851, spoke of joining “hands in the advocacy of the Supremacy of Labor, claiming kindred with the Kings of Toil.”¹⁸⁷ The *American Agriculturist* assured its readers in every issue that its editors were “all practical WORKING MEN”—although they neglected to say what they worked at.¹⁸⁸

Along with the democratic surge at mid-century there was a growing class consciousness among farmers and an incipient demand for economic justice. It is not enough to grow the best grain, breed the best stock, and take prizes regularly at the county fair, one young farmer told his fellows; we must “stand by the interests of the farmer”—and farming, always and everywhere.¹⁸⁹ For a republic to succeed permanently, J. B. Turner said in his “Millennium of Labor” address, the mass of its people must be “an enlightened yeomanry, the proprietors of the soil they till, TOO INDEPENDENT TO BE BOUGHT, TOO ENLIGHTENED TO BE CHEATED, AND TOO POWERFUL TO BE CRUSHED.”¹⁹⁰

As regards economic justice, the man who made the best analysis of the farmer’s situation, in about 1850, was Thomas J. Pinkham, who had turned to farming after several years’ business experience in which he had learned to keep books. Speaking from ten years’ experience he concluded that even in a good location, no man of ordinary strength could by farming alone “keep up the fertility of the soil, the buildings and fences in condition, pay the taxes, insurance &c., &c., and get six per cent on the capital”—even if he allowed himself no money wages.¹⁹¹ In a letter to the *New England Farmer* he raised the question “Is there any profit in farming?”

Despite the hard work and long hours, Pinkham pointed out, farmers were in debt and farm property was deteriorating in value; they could not themselves enjoy the comforts and necessities they furnished to others. Not one farmer in ten, he maintained, was making a living from farming alone and getting three per cent return on his investment.¹⁹²

Some of the replies published in the *New England Farmer* brought forth a second letter from Pinkham on how to reckon the profit on farming. Some had allowed no return on investment, no depreciation on machinery; some had not allowed wages or pay for all the work they and their families had done. "Now what I want," wrote Pinkham, "is to have the farmer *know* what the article costs, and not to *scab* the *craft*." For a farmer to crowd his meadows with cows as soon as he could get the hay off and then sell the milk for two cents a quart would make uphill work for the next generation.¹⁹³ This letter excited readers enough to bring forth many replies.¹⁹⁴ Of the letters printed, many maintained that farming was profitable,¹⁹⁵ though not all were convincing when analyzed.¹⁹⁶ Farming must be profitable, answered one, where else did the wealth of the nation come from! A letter signed "A.B., Barre., Vt." was quite convincing, but when Pinkham tried to get the address to correspond further with the writer, he could not get it. Finally, he concluded the letter was an editorial fiction.¹⁹⁷ Yes, a man could live by farming, responded "H.C.," "but how does he live? How does he dress? What are his pleasures? When has he leisure? At what age can he retire?" It is true, he continued, occasionally a "man with the strength and constitution of a giant . . . with mind enough to have been a Webster, with a will like Napoleon's" did manage by working sixteen hours a day, raising and selling farm produce, to save a few thousand dollars—especially if he had a Yankee wife to match him. But in commerce, that man would have been an Astor, in science a Stephenson, in the pulpit a Channing, and in manufacturing an Abbot Lawrence.¹⁹⁸

The attitude of the editors of the *New England Farmer*

makes an interesting study. At first they thought the question of the profitableness of farming worth going into.¹⁹⁹ Later they said nothing was more injurious to the interests of agriculture "than the widely spread and popular idea" that farming wasn't profitable; however, they admitted, it might not be profitable under all circumstances. Since "from this source all supplies for the sustenance of man and beast"²⁰⁰ are drawn, one editor maintained, farming must be profitable—but he did not say *profitable to whom*. One editorial charged that in figuring the cost of a corn crop, Pinkham figured hired help too high at one dollar a day—by the month it cost only fifty-eight cents. And, continued the editor, besides field work, the hired man was supposed to make fires, feed hogs, milk cows, feed stock, cut wood, work in the garden till breakfasttime, and do chores at night, all of which was "well nigh enough to pay the board."²⁰¹ Viewed from the standpoint of a young man contemplating going into farming via the hired-man route, the editor's calculations on the profitableness of farming would hardly have been convincing! Viewed from the standpoint of Christian democracy or rural culture, they are despicable.

For some weeks after the letter challenging his critics to find a farmer who had for a series of years made "fair mechanic's wages over and above a reasonable per cent on his investment at farming," Pinkham was given no space in the pages of the *New England Farmer* to answer his opponents. So he wrote *Farming As It Is*, a book of nearly four hundred pages, analyzing the situation. In view of the clarity of his writing and the interest in the subject, one concludes that only a distraction such as the Civil War kept it from having wider influence.

Men lived by unprofitable farming, Pinkham explained, some by using up the fertility of their land, some by carrying on a trade, such as carpentry, as a side line; some by the help of sons or daughters working in factory, town or city: some by increment in land value due to an industrial plant locating near-by; some by little speculations such as buying sheep at

two hundred dollars and selling them for four hundred dollars, which did not make farming profitable, because the first owner lost most of what the second gained.²⁰² Farm people, he asserted, had studied how to live cheaply rather than how to live well; they had sold the best and consumed the poorest produce, they had kept down taxation (for schools) by withholding from the next generation the means of adequate education.²⁰³

To produce three or four times as much as was needed, this farmer-economist argued, only lowered the prices.²⁰⁴ One might as well expect the merchant, manufacturer or mechanic to succeed by selling his goods for whatever he could get, without counting the cost of production, maintained this precursor of Henry Wallace, as to expect this of the farmer; selling farm produce for the cost of labor only was like selling a suit for the tailor's wages.²⁰⁵ It was unchristian as well as unprofitable, for thereby one was saying to poor men, "You shall not earn a living by your labor at farming." This drove them to the city, to the poorhouse, or to the penitentiary. It kept wages down! It hurt the value of the neighbor's farm. It mortgaged the country to the city.²⁰⁶ When the time comes that farmers will stop producing as crops become unremunerative, then, and only then, will they be respected.²⁰⁷

Pinkham thought the legislative grants for agricultural society premiums or Boards of Agriculture were of doubtful benefit, as their influence was to increase production.²⁰⁸ True, the populace admired fat oxen, mammoth pigs and fine cattle, but it was a morbid interest and false pride that led a man to strive for a premium at the county fair at the cost of his family's going without the most common conveniences of life. (Evidently some people of limited means made as great sacrifices to have prize-winning oxen then as some do today to have expensive or late-model automobiles.)

Some of the questions this Socratic teacher of agriculturists suggested for discussion in farmers' clubs and other small groups were:

Is it for the good of all other classes that the products of the farm should be sold below their cost?

To what extent can we crop the soil and not deteriorate it?

Is it for the interest of the East that the people of the West should sell their products at the cost of their labor only?

Is it the prime object of the movers of the various Agricultural societies to benefit the producers or the nonproducers?

Is it for the farmer's interest to increase or diminish the supply of farm products?

Would the natural law of supply and demand regulate the agricultural interest better than any legislation can?

Is it for the farmer's interest to produce small crops at a profit, or large ones at a loss? ²⁰⁹

In another list he asked, "Have the farmers a right to combine, or act in union, to promote their interests?" ²¹⁰

There was a social concern underlying some of Pinkham's economic thinking, as revealed in the paraphrase of Thomas Hood's "Song of the Shirt."

O men with mothers!

O men with brothers and wives!

'Tis not only the earth you are wearing out

But human creatures' lives!

Hoe—hoe—hoe,

In poverty, hunger, slop;

Digging at once, with spade and hoe,

A grave as well as the crop! ²¹¹

Social concern is shown, too, in that he could envision "in the long future" a situation strangely like the depression of the 1930's or the deficit government spending of the 1950's,

growing out of the government's "entangling" with industry and economics till people were "compelled to look to the treasury and not to their own right arms for support." Some time in the future, when the government's outlay for those who can't take care of themselves amounts to more than the government's total budget now, "then we shall say, why could we not have profited by the experience of past ages, and left our industry free"—subject to the regulation of the law of supply and demand.²¹²

Others besides Pinkham were calculating the profits of farming. New York farms netted, above seven *per cent* on the investment, only two hundred dollars per farm for wages and profits, according to one account.²¹³ New England farmers got money, wrote Donald G. Mitchell, but it was rather "by dint of not spending" than by profits on farming operations.²¹⁴ Young men forsook farming, said H.C. Merriam, not because of its hard work, but for hard work that *did not pay*.²¹⁵ Depression added to the farmer's difficulties—and prolonged his burden of debt.

Most farmers who depended on one crop, like wheat or cotton, with income peaked at harvest time, were sure to be in financial straits whenever there was a crop failure. Once in debt they had to market their crops at harvest time, or, as one Southern correspondent wrote, the constable would market it for them.²¹⁶ Having to sell on a glutted market and then perhaps to buy on credit until the next harvest was a double drain on farm income, a severe handicap to the good life.

The social effect of "this demon of debt, with its 'interest' eating out the farmer's substance ceaselessly and remorselessly, day and night, summer and winter, in sunshine and in shade," is clearly portrayed in the first report of the new Commissioner of Agriculture:

It eats out half the joys of many families by reason of the self-denials, the always-losing "makeshifts," the working to disadvantage and consequent extra labor,

with those anxieties and solitudes which are necessarily imposed, and which, in their turn, induce irritation of mind, irascibility of temper, and that forgetfulness of those domestic amenities which many times convert a trouble into a pleasure and alleviate or take entirely away half the burdens of life.²¹⁷

In the South, with increased production, the price of cotton in the 1840-55 period averaged only half of what it had been in 1821-25 and two-thirds what it had been in the 1831-40 decade.²¹⁸ On the eve of the Civil War agricultural correspondents were still bewailing "our land getting worn-out and our people moving to the West."²¹⁹ Parts of South Carolina, said one account, looked like the ruins of ancient Greece.²²⁰ More people were appreciating the importance, to the nation and to future generations, of soil restitution,²²¹ and yet while many might see the "aggravated wrong," wrote another, they did nothing about it, their maxim being, "Get what you can, let posterity take care of themselves; they have done nothing for us."²²² The responsibility for this situation rested with "commerce, manufactures, and the community at large," wrote Daniel Lee. The farmer had to sell his grain and provisions, the planter had to sell his cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar, whether his fields suffered exhaustion or not. Only the state or national government, he thought, could help the situation.²²³

Some rural poverty was due to problems that legislation could not solve. In New England "the savings of half-pence to add to one's store, and the denial to one's self and children . . . [of things that would delight] the famished senses, and stir the thin emotions, and enlarge the range of experience" permitted the qualities of thrift, endurance, industry, and perhaps integrity to survive, but those other qualities of "generosity, hospitality, charity and liberality" could not live on such a "scanty diet."²²⁴ The resultant meanness of life, spiritual starvation in the midst of material plenty, Whittier painted from memory in a poem, "Among the Hills." The

walls of the old homestead blistered in the sun without a tree or vine to shade them; inside, the best room had no fresh air, books or beauty;

And, in sad keeping with all things about them,
Shrill, querulous women, sour and sullen men,
Untidy, loveless, old before their time,
With scarce a human interest save their own
Monotonous round of small economies,
Or the poor scandal of the neighborhood;

* * *

Rich in broad woodlands and in half-tilled fields,
And yet so pinched and bare and comfortless,
The veriest straggler limping on his rounds,
The sun and air his sole inheritance,
Laughed at a poverty that paid its taxes,
And hugged his rags in self-complacency.²²⁵

In the West it was not miserliness but the "unhallowed spirit of speculation"²²⁶ and the allurements of the frontier²²⁷ that were said to be hurting the cause of wholesome rural life. The "home feeling," Gov. Joseph A. Wright told one audience, did not "live and flourish upon a run."²²⁸ John L. Johnson assured his readers in the *Country Gentleman* that if they could not make a living in New York he was sure they could not in the West, where houses and churches were to be built, fences and bridges to be made; orchards to be set; and the comforts of life provided or gone without.²²⁹ Prospective pioneers were assured by one speaker that health was as important as fertile soil, that comfort would "compensate for many pecuniary advantages," and that the enjoyment of social privileges in an Eastern community was better than productivity in some other section where "a moral miasma" prevailed.²³⁰

Seeking to correct some people's values, Josiah Quincy,

Jr. told his audience that after the comforts of life are assured, being wealthy is only a comparative matter. He illustrated the folly of the quest after happiness via riches by relating a story from ancient history: "We will conquer all Italy," Pyrrhus told his prime minister, "and then we will pass into Asia; we will overrun her kingdoms, and then we will wage war on Africa, and when we have conquered all, we will sit down quietly and rest ourselves"; to which the wise minister responded, "And why should we not sit down and enjoy ourselves without taking all this trouble?"²³¹ In similar vein the editor of the *Wisconsin Farmer* suggested to his readers that instead of "making themselves miserable at the present merely to get rich that they . . . [might] be happy at some future time," they should enjoy life rationally as they went along from day to day, and from year to year.²³²

To lessen the lure of wealth, efforts were being made to redefine the term "country gentleman" in such a way as to make it an ideal attainable by the many. The first qualification, wrote one correspondent is "love for country life, for rural pursuits." A real country gentleman, he maintained,

must love both the romance and the reality of a farm life. . . . He must not only admire a beautiful landscape, a lovely tree, a quiet lawn, a noble field of grain, but he must delight to beautify that landscape, to transplant and rear those trees, to form with his own hand that lawn . . . ; to plant the grain and bestow his own skill and care in its cultivation.²³³

It is not a matter of wealth and leisure, but of thoughts and habits of life. "To watch the corn grow and the blossoms set," he quoted Ruskin, "to draw hard breaths over the spade and plowshare, to read, to think, to live, to hope, to pray, these are the things to make men happy; they have always had the power to do these—they will never have the power to do more."²³⁴

Also stressing the ideal of *living* and *being* rather than of

getting and *having* was C.L.D. (Charles L. Downing?), whose letter appeared in the *Horticulturist* for 1850. "In every community may be found . . . men who read, in whose conversation the wisest may find pleasure and instruction." These practical philosophers, he continued, were quietly pursuing such a natural way of life as many a social reformer was "with a vast amount of cumbersome machinery" endeavoring to bring about. They felt no need of other sources of happiness than were within their hands, for their taste was not vitiated by "the stimulants of fashion or the excitement of speculation."²³⁵

One of these practical philosophers, who had declared his independence of the tyrants Fashion and Avarice was L.A. Hine, author of "The Small Farm System" and advocate of rural simplicity, independence, and culture. Man's aim, he held, should not be to live at a rate that required slaves or servants to support him, but to grow in truth, beauty, and wisdom. Ownership of land should be limited, and "personal occupancy" should be the evidence of title. Too large a farm prevented a fertility-maintaining type of agriculture; and big landowners generally opposed taxes for schools. Small farms were good because they would promote liberty, "the greatest possible number of independent, or *free*, people"; equality, or "the greatest possible diffusion of wealth and knowledge"; and fraternity, "the greatest possible prevalence of good will to men."²³⁶ Thereby both black and white could be freed from bondage and enjoy security, independence, and greater human happiness.

In view of the Roosevelt Country Life Commission's emphasis on the need for higher ideals, it is interesting to note some of the other ideals that were held up for emulation during the pre-Civil War decade.

The ideal home was presented in two contrasting word pictures sketched by M.R. Patrick in an address to the Jefferson County [New York] Agricultural Society. The first picture—a new home built to replace the old log cabin—showed a fair white house, "two stories and a wing, with

kitchen in the rear," flanked by barns and granary. As one got closer to the house he noticed that every blind was closed tight as a miser's fist; there was no tree or shrub or flower to break the "air of barrenness and desolation around it." The front door was infrequently used, for its doorstep was hidden by weeds. The front rooms were unused, except occasionally by company. All the family, including the hired man, ate and lived in the kitchen. There were no books, not even a schoolbook in sight during the school months. And if a son or daughter had borrowed a book, there would have been no privacy to read or study. Yet the honest, kind-hearted parents were ready to lavish their hard-earned savings of years to send one of the younger children away to school to fit him for a "more genteel" position in some office, store or profession.²³⁷

The second picture sketched the same home five years later. The most pleasant and convenient room in the front of the house had become the family living room, always open, "consecrated to neatness, purity, and truth," the seat of the family altar. There were "useful books and periodicals" on the table and lights that made evening reading possible. The planting of a few trees, shrubs and flowers had made the once uninviting house attractive. The "sons and daughters sighed no more for city life, but loved with intense affection" the homestead they had helped beautify. They gathered in the family living room in the evening to "drink in knowledge and wisdom and understanding." The father, "who once looked upon his acres only as a laboratory for transmuting labor into gold," was awake to the beautiful in nature. With more thinking, or headwork, he no longer felt the need of "taxing his physical powers to the utmost"; he and the sons "rolled off the work with ease." The proud mother enjoyed the society of happy daughters and contented sons.²³⁸

These pictures, like other works of art, were reproduced.²³⁹ Sometimes certain details of the picture were enlarged or given special emphasis. Books and reading material should be provided, it was agreed, even at the cost of disre-

garding Fashion,²⁴⁰ or giving up tobacco.²⁴¹ Family meals, urged another, should be more of a social occasion.²⁴² The need of "relaxation from routine or ordinary labors" was emphasized.²⁴³ To improve the family's health, farm families were urged to eat more cereal, fruit, vegetables and milk, and less fat salt pork, fine-flour bread and hot biscuits.²⁴⁴

Special consideration for the wife and mother's health and happiness was recommended by Dr. W.W. Hall, in the U.S. Department of Agriculture *Report* for 1862. The farmer should take his wife to visit a relative or neighbor "for the express purpose of relaxation from the cares and toils of home"; for, counselled the doctor, such a change of association and food improves the appetite and digestion, gives new physical energy, stimulates the mind, nourishes the affections, and gives one that point of view in relation to people and things which elevates life above the level of mere existence.²⁴⁵

Perhaps this advice needs to be seen against the background of "Woman and Her Toils," as set forth in the *Ohio Valley Farmer*, a sketch poignantly similar to that made by Fitzherbert in fifteenth-century England.²⁴⁶

She rises early, milks the cows, gets breakfast, often for several men, dresses the children, washes the dishes, skims milk, churns, perhaps sweeps rooms, makes beds, prepares dinner, "cleans up," snatches an hour to sew, milks again, puts children to bed, and after they and her husband are asleep, resting from their weariness, sits up to sew that she may save paying a seamstress. In addition to this daily routine, she does all the washing, ironing, baking, scrubbing, house-cleaning, soap-making, and hog-killing work. . . .²⁴⁷

The position of the farm wife at this time, when women's rights were no better developed than household labor-saving machinery, was often an unenviable one. The prospect of overwork and ill health made girls shrink from becoming farmers' wives, averred one writer.²⁴⁸ Another was of the

opinion that only the isolated household made a slave of woman.²⁴⁹ A third maintained that the farm woman was better off than the wife of a mechanic²⁵⁰; better off than a seamstress struggling to subsist by that "life-destroying instrument, the needle," added a fourth.²⁵¹ "But how many out of a hundred farmers of fifty or fifty-five years of age are living with their first wives?" queried another agricultural correspondent.²⁵² And when such an overworked wife and mother gave up the struggle, concluded another, people charged it to a "Mysterious Providence . . . just as if God ordained that the mother should be taken from children when they are most exposed to temptation and danger."²⁵³

In explanation, if not defense, of the position of husbands in pioneer areas, "The First Settler's Story," by Will Carlton, makes clear how pioneer conditions might affect husband-wife relationships.

Hard work bears hard upon the average pulse
Even with satisfactory results;
But when effects are scarce, the heavy strain
Falls dead and solid on the heart and brain.
And when we're bothered, it will oft occur
We seek blame-timber; and I lit on her
And looked at her with daily-lessening favor,
For what I knew she couldn't help, to save her.
And Discord, when he once had called and seen us,
Came round quite often, and edged in between us.²⁵⁴

Sometimes the overwork that made maintenance of fine relations in the family difficult was the result not of pioneer conditions but of the "avaricious spirit, handed down from father to son," which made the dollar the "only standard of respectability, and land the only fountain of happiness."²⁵⁵ This spirit was being challenged by some rural philosophers:

Is it wise for the dwellers in either city or country, to
make life little better than a chronic fever of the

heart and brain for the sake of swelling the amount of one's treasures and possessions? . . . Is it wise to sacrifice the end to the means, comfort to the means of comfort, while at the same time those means are never used for the realization of that comfort which is the only legitimate ultimate or end of all labor and exertion? . . . What signify pecuniary gains if made at the expense of health and comfort, of mental and spiritual losses? ²⁵⁶

To prevent overwork and consequent ill health, young couples were urged never to buy more land than they could pay for without going in debt and never to cultivate more than could be well tilled with the help available.²⁵⁷ Other ways of lightening the farm woman's burden included providing the home with more conveniences, having a simpler diet, erecting cottages to permit farmers to hire married help,²⁵⁸ thereby avoiding the extra washing, cooking, and cleaning for hired men. One writer pointedly suggested that husbands should treat their wives with as much consideration as their livestock, whose young were brought into the world "by creatures for months dismissed from labor, or handled with intelligent care." ²⁵⁹

Writing in the new Department of Agriculture's *Report* for 1862, Dr. W.W. Hall diagnosed and prescribed for another "sickness" from which farm women sometimes suffered. A woman naturally looks to the man who promised to love and cherish her for comfort, for sustaining support and sympathy, "and when she does not get them, the whole world . . . is a waste of waters." When in addition to lack of appreciation there came the "remorseless and repeated fault finding, the contemptuous gesture" when she had done all that was possible under the circumstances—in the light of such treatment, warned this physician, it was no wonder that on the face of many a farmer's wife there came a look of sadness and hopelessness which a thoughtful doctor regarded as "the prelude to that early wasting away which

... [was] the lot of many a faithful and virtuous woman.”²⁶⁰

“If you would have a pleasant home and a cheerful wife,” husbands were admonished by the author of “Woman’s Thoughts About Woman,” “pass your evenings under your own roof. Do not be stern and silent at home and remarkable for sociability elsewhere. Remember that your wife has as much need of recreation as yourself . . .”²⁶¹

The efforts to get farmers to observe the social amenities brought forth various responses. The failure of some, explained one writer, was not due to indifference, but to contempt: “Many a farmer we know holds in the utmost scorn all show of polite life.”²⁶² Another sought to help the situation by pointing out that there was a difference between refinement or “those little courtesies which make home life attractive,” and the “mere city conventional forms,”²⁶³ which were often burdensome. Under analysis these suggest that working farmers were in revolt against the ideals of aristocrats, whether from rural South or urban North, and sometimes they confused independence with rudeness.²⁶⁴

Efforts to inspire rural youth with right ideals were made but sometimes they turned out to be counterfeit. One writer held up for emulation the daughter who helped her mother in the kitchen when meals were being prepared for company. Accordingly he had the hero of his little story choose for his wife neither of the two sisters who entertained him in the parlor but the one who, helping her mother in the kitchen, was first mistaken for the hired girl. His story ended, however, with the chosen one the matron of “a splendid Boston mansion,” and not the ideal homemaker in a happy rural home.²⁶⁵ “As long as mothers and daughters prefer town lads,” wrote “J.W.W.” in the *Country Gentleman*, “so long will the [farm] sons prefer to become town lads,” or city dwellers.²⁶⁶

The men held up for farm boys to emulate were also men of achievement in other areas of life. For example, “T.E.W.,” writing on “The Influence of Rural Life,” mentioned several great men who had been farm boys, but they had become statesmen, lawyers, doctors, ministers, merchants. He did not

mention a single man who had achieved distinction because of what he had done for rural life or agriculture.²⁶⁷

The importance of keeping some of the ablest young men and women on the farms to provide rural leadership may not have been appreciated then as much as it was a couple of generations later, but there were writers who tried to deglamorize the city and point out the good qualities of rural life. One of them penned the following lines:

I would not live in the city,
With its dust and smoke and din,
With its heartless, bustling people,
And its dens of sloth and sin.²⁶⁸

Even the good influence of fine metropolitan churches was not sufficient to offset the evils of city life, one rural audience was told: "Hundreds of miserable God-and-man-forsaken wretches swelter in vice and filth" close to great churches.²⁶⁹ Whereas country life taught the value of neighborliness and sympathy, Henry F. Durant told his audience, the city man often did not know the name of his next-door neighbor.²⁷⁰ Or the country was commended by such negative statements as that of Henry Ward Beecher: "courage without conscience . . . enterprise without scruple, plausible avarice, sleek and greedy dishonesties, circumspect deceits, religion in form and depravity in fact" were not the product of the soil but "of the street, the exchange, the shop, the office, and the store."²⁷¹

More positive ideals, some closer to those of the Country Life Association were set forth by some agricultural speakers. What are the objectives of the great agricultural movement of which our country has been the theater for the last quarter of a century? queried Bronson Murray, addressing the La Salle County Agricultural Society. "Is it not for MAN that this and all agricultural societies are organized? Are these annual gatherings, judgments and awardings anything more than bonds of union and incentives in the great enterprise of the progress of the human race?" The real objectives, main-

tained this spiritual brother of J. B. Turner, were "the elevation of man and the dominion of mind over matter. . . ." ²⁷²

How close a few of these men were to the point of view of those who were to organize the American Country Life Association two generations later is seen in some of their statements. For the regeneration of agriculture in New England, urged one writer, reliance must be placed, not so much on better methods of farming, scientific discoveries, and new and better machinery, as upon new and better thinking, especially better aims and ideals. ²⁷³ The time saved by better methods and tools, said another, should be devoted to "intellectual, social, and religious advancement" rather than being made "subservient to the mere insanity of adding acres to acres, and item to item in the inventory which [man] may leave to his executors." ²⁷⁴ The State Board of Agriculture's chief responsibility, wrote one Ohio Committee, is to see that agricultural fair premiums go to encourage the highest development of the "physical, intellectual, and moral faculties of the young." ²⁷⁵ The rearing of "noble thoroughbred sons and daughters" ought to be the first consideration of every true country gentleman, ²⁷⁶ suggested a *Country Gentleman* correspondent. Another, C. T. Alvord, even offered a new yardstick by which to gauge vocations: "That vocation is the most desirable, which produces the noblest men." ²⁷⁷

Rural leaders were becoming vocal not only about finer rural ideals for youth and the values of agriculture as a way of life, but also concerning the home-and-school education of the oncoming generation. In the rearing of finer human beings, Alanson P. Sigourney told the Jefferson County Agricultural Society in 1859, teachers had truly an important part to play, but the influence of parents was even more significant, for their instruction "[is] the first received and the last forgotten." ²⁷⁸ In far too many homes, agreed a like-minded "Farmer," education is too nearly synonymous with schooling. Do parents generally, he continued, "estimate at their proper value such educational agencies as those which are exercised by the companions of

their children, the books read by them, the example set before them, the conversation they hear in the domestic circle, and the periodical literature admitted to it?"²⁷⁹ Occasionally some individual dared to assert that intellectual training divorced from moral ideals is dangerous: unless knowledge is tempered with moral excellence and controlled by principle, it is a curse, for "it adds intensity to wrong, craftiness to crime, rapacity to desire, and vindictiveness to hate."²⁸⁰ We are here, Henry F. Durant told his agricultural audience, to develop our affections and moral nature as well as our intellect.²⁸¹

To recognize the increased amount of enlightenment as to ideas and ideals of rural living in the pre-Civil War decade is not to minimize the materialism, the ignorance and prejudice that stood in the way of their realization. The provincialism that made New Englanders of the 1830's think of Cincinnati as the abode of barbarians who didn't sit down to eat dinner, or that branded the Puritan Yankees as either peddlers or canting priests,²⁸² had still not all passed away a generation later.²⁸³ The South was handicapped educationally: only eighteen per cent of the newspapers and periodicals were subscribed for in that section, and four border states accounted for over half of these.²⁸⁴ Yes, obstacles existed, but appreciation of the finer things of rural life was growing in America.

In the early twentieth century, Bailey defined the "country-life movement" as the working out of the desire to make rural civilization as effective and satisfying as any other civilization."²⁸⁵ Butterfield, who took the lead in setting up The American Country Life Association, held that "the welfare of men and women, of boys and girls, in respect to their education, their health, their neighborliness, their moral and religious welfare, is the most precious thing in the world."²⁸⁶ If one accepts these ideas and ideals as the goals of effective rural living, then the evidence set forth in the foregoing pages should help him realize that there was a stirring in the hive of rural life in America about 1860 betokening the coming of spring.

Also, if one accepts the Bailey thesis that the improvement of rural life depends upon the people themselves and upon "men and women of vision with trained minds . . . to work out the problems in such a way that they will meet conditions as they exist on the spot," he will recognize that pre-Civil War rural America, with such leadership as that provided by Andrew J. Downing, Jonathan B. Turner, and others, was making splendid progress—before the sectional struggle split the country into two armed camps and drained her energies and destroyed her ideals in fratricidal strife. If, on the other hand, one prefers the Butterfield emphasis that the country-life movement depends upon organizational effort, he may find in the 1852-61 decade organizations ranging from the Farmers' Club and Country Agricultural societies to state and national organizations, all working for the improvement of rural life in its various aspects. That there was drive and power in the movement is seen by the results achieved early in 1862 in getting a new Bureau of Agriculture set up and in getting the Morrill Land Grant College Act passed by Congress.

But the Civil War drained the best human resources of both great agricultural sections of the nation in a four-year struggle that delayed the achievement of an economically sound, socially satisfying, culturally significant rural civilization for over half a century.

Chapter 9

FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION

The country-life forces of America suffered greatly as a consequence of four years of civil strife. Although the struggle would encourage the use of labor-saving machinery such as the reaper, it would also encourage the materialization of life. Anyone who has seen the effect of two World Wars on the United States can understand that even in the North, where little fighting was done, there would be a loss in the realm of personal and community ideals, the very area in which the Roosevelt Commission of 1909 found rural life deficient. Obviously, too, many a potential farm leader would be lost to rural life, some by disease and death, others through experiences weening them away from rural pursuits.

Since most of the local farmer organizations, whether county agricultural societies or Farmers' clubs, were in the North, one finds no great decline in number of local units, but something had affected the rate of growth. The number had increased from two hundred fifty or three hundred to nine hundred in the years 1852 to 1858,¹ which is about one hundred a year. If they continued to multiply at the same rate until early 1862, that would account for the addition of four hundred more, or a total of twelve hundred. The number reported for 1868 was only 1350.² Forty years later, according to A.C. True, there were twelve hundred county associations with 250,000 members,³ or about the same number as at the outbreak of the war.⁴ Many county societies continued to hold their annual fairs: one periodical listed 545 county and town fairs in 1871, with Ohio, New York, Massachusetts,

Iowa, Indiana and Illinois accounting for about two thirds of them.⁵

In the newer sections they at least offered an occasion for farmers and their families to become part of a celebrating crowd, and going to the fair was one of the "three yearly occasions for general holiday," Christmas and the Fourth of July being the other two.⁶ In the older sections, fairs followed the trend noticed in the mid-century decades and were criticized accordingly. Writing in 1865, George Vail bewailed the "modern tendencies of those who managed these institutions" to introduce features utterly foreign to the interests of agriculture—"trifling absurdities" such as "climbing a greased pole, and a race after a greased pig, horse racing, *etc.*"⁷ Formerly, according to another critic, "all the people of the neighborhood assembled to admire each other's contributions . . . revel in the unwonted dissipation of a crowd, indulge in various kinds of innocent amusement"; they enjoyed a banquet, listened to an address, and met long-absent friends called home by the holiday occasion. If the trend in the wrong direction continued, predicted this writer, the time would come when "purses of thousands and thousands of dollars" would be offered for trials of speed, while five dollars would be considered enough for a prize milk cow or the winner of a plowing match; throngs of gamblers and swindlers, who followed a horse race as they did a prize fight, would degrade the moral standards of the fair, while the genuine farmers would stay at home to keep their sons and daughters from such harmful influences. In such event, however, he concluded, farm families would "mourn the loss of one golden day."⁸

Some withdrew their support of the fair because of racing and gambling⁹; others suggested means of improving it. One recommended that premiums be offered for "the intelligence, efficiency, and morality of young men and women" who would become farmers or farmers' wives—specifically, for the best education secured without attending high school; for the best repair job on an agricultural implement in the short-

est time; for the farm girl who could make the best loaf of bread, the best roll of butter, the best piece of sewing, play the best on accordion or piano, and have the finest flowerbed, cared for by herself. Finally, suggested this correspondent, a free life membership in both the county and the state agricultural societies should be given to every young farmer who, by the age of twenty, had acquired the rudiments of his calling; this would help keep the right type of young man interested in farm life.¹⁰

However, the county fair did not regain the place it had once held in rural life. In 1894, a Michigan man observed that the county fair had long since ceased to serve as an educational agency for farmers, and "the Grange, the Institute, and Farmers' Club . . . had taken its place."¹¹ In the 1920's the fair's "objectionable features, which tended to lower the social and moral standards of rural communities,"¹² were still being criticized.

Below the county societies, there were the Farmers' clubs and, beginning about 1870, the Patrons of Husbandry, or Grange. Farmers' clubs, because of their adaptability and informality,¹³ continued to find favor and to make social and cultural contributions.¹⁴ By the 1890's there were said to be several hundreds of them in existence,¹⁵ and they were still being organized.¹⁶ In some communities the clubs took the place of the Grange¹⁷; in others people belonged to both.¹⁸ One club, it was reported, "stood through the Grange movement, worked side by side with it without friction," and continued after the local Grange had "succumbed."¹⁹ Some preferred the clubs because they were less formal and not "public affairs."²⁰

The pure democracy and informality of the clubs was also their weakness: without supervision or help from above, they did not always last,²¹ and there could be no effective cooperation among them without organization. This weakness was partly overcome when a state association was formed in Illinois in 1873,²² and in Michigan in 1893.²³

The farmers' organization of the post-Civil War period

that has received most attention, perhaps, was the Patrons of Husbandry, or the Grange, organized by Oliver H. Kelley and some associates at Washington, D.C., in 1867. Kelley, son of a tailor and experienced as a drug clerk and telegraph operator, had as a young man taken up a claim in Minnesota, where he carried on a fur trade with near-by Indians.²⁴ While there he became a member and secretary of a Farmers' club,²⁵ and apparently gained therefrom some idea of what such a community organization might mean to farmers living on scattered farms. He belonged to a secret society, the Masons, and evidently was also something of a promoter before going to Washington as a government clerk.²⁶

Writing from the South in 1866, where he had been sent to collect information and statistics relative to agriculture, Kelley mentioned to his niece "the idea of a secret society of agriculture, as an element to restore kindly feelings among the people." The niece approved the idea and suggested that women be included and given full membership. Slowly a little group of interested persons worked out a name, a constitution, and a ritual for the organization, and Potomac Grange, No. 1, was organized at Washington, January 8, 1868.²⁷

From April, 1868, on Kelley gave his time to organizing, asking fifteen dollars from each local Grange organized. His efforts met with little success at first. Perhaps the farmers asked themselves why they should pay someone fifteen dollars to set up a local Grange when they could set up their own Farmers' Club for nothing—that is, nothing except the effort and interest necessary to keep any organization going. Kelley kept up his efforts, however, and through the columns of the agricultural press, knowledge of the new organization spread. The founder and some deputies authorized by him organized several local Granges. How slow the growth was at first is indicated by the statistics: Of 25,000 dispensations to organize issued up to April 14, 1875, approximately ninety per cent of them were organized after January 1, 1873.²⁸

The very rapid growth of the organization, beginning in

November, 1872, was due to a combination of circumstances that made the farmers almost desperate. There were, as one writer expressed it, "immense crops of corn which had to be sold for less than the cost of production; short crops of wheat, with no corresponding increase in price; railroad combinations to prevent competition and reasonable rates of freight; wheat and corn rings" formed to control prices of those commodities.²⁹ In two and a half years of depression the number of local Granges grew to 23,000, climbing from a monthly increase of 158 new units set up in January, 1873, to a peak of 2,329 new units in February, 1874, and then dropping back to 363 set up in November of that year. Twenty-seven state Granges were also established in that period.³⁰

The question arises: What led farmers—a number of whom were seeking means of effective cooperation³¹—to expect that the Grange would be able to accomplish for them more than the older organizations, such as the Farmers' clubs and the county agricultural societies, had been able to do? Apparently some of the organizers, like the sellers of dispensations in the days of Martin Luther, made rather larger promises than their organizations were in a position to fulfill. Kelley's biographer claims that whereas the founder stressed the social advantages of the organization, others emphasized the economic advantages that might be gained through joining it.³² This may have been true at first, but Kelley, the government clerk concerned for dispirited farmers, must have been overcome by Kelley the promoter-secretary of the National Grange when funds began pouring into the Washington office at an unprecedented rate; for among the organization's objectives "stated in a general way by the secretary of the National Grange" in 1873, one finds the following:

Among the advantages which may be derived from the Order are systematic arrangements for procuring and disseminating, in the most expeditious manner, information relative to crops, demand and supply,

prices, markets, and transportation throughout the country; also for the purchase and exchange of stock, seeds, and desired varieties of plants and trees, and for the purpose of procuring help at home and abroad, and situations for persons seeking employment; also for ascertaining and testing merits of newly discovered farming implements and those now in general use, and for *detecting and exposing those that are unworthy, and for the protection, by all available means, of the farming interests from fraud and deception, and combinations of every kind.*³³

These are rather broad, inclusive objectives and promises in view of the "machinery," or organization, Kelley had with which to "deliver the goods." That he was either an exploiting promoter or a man with less understanding of farmers' problems than he has been credited with having, would seem to be the alternative inferences one must draw from the concluding paragraph of Kelley's letter setting forth the objectives of the Grange, for therein he stated this: "The better to secure greater benefits to our members, we desire to establish Granges in every city, town, and village in the United States."³⁴ If the farmer was being exploited by town or city people, why open the organization to these enemies of the farmer's economic well-being?

The way the situation appeared to some farmers is indicated by a letter from a granger in Illinois: "We were led to believe," he wrote, "that the state Grange would from time to time suggest plans for mutual improvement, forward to us statistics concerning agricultural welfare, and circulate something that they knew about farming"; however, "we only hear from them when our dues fall due."³⁵

The ten-cents-a-month dues were certainly no temptation to promoter-organizers, for of this amount the state Grange received only twenty per cent and sent on only ten cents a year to the National Grange. The taking in of new members, however, was a more attractive proposition financially: for

every man or woman who took the four degrees of the Order, the National Grange would receive forty cents or a total of fifty cents for initiation and first-year dues; the net amount left to the state Grange would be about the same. On this basis the estimated million to a million and a half members must have paid from one-half to three-fourths of a million dollars to the National Grange in addition to any fees charged for dispensation of charters; and the receipts must have been largest during the depression months of 1873 and 1874, when more than twenty thousand local Granges were organized.³⁶

The only reference found regarding the management of finances is the general promise quoted in the *History of the Grangers' Movement*: "The funds of the Order are guarded by a series of judicious regulations, and their proper administration is thus guaranteed."³⁷ This alone, regarding an organization whose national office was in corruption-filled Washington, D.C., during the Grant administration, is less than convincing. Kelley's biographer states that in 1875 he moved the office of the national secretary to Louisville and soon thereafter became the "leading spirit" in extensive land speculation in northern Florida, resigning from the Grange in 1879.³⁸ The "dispirited farmer's" problems were hardly solved by 1879; they certainly could have used half a million dollars worth of protection—and one wonders what became of the fund.

Some of the *Songs of the Grange*, collected under the leadership of Kelley's niece, show evidence of a desire on the part of some leaders to rouse a fighting spirit among farmer-grangers. One song, reminiscent of the Civil War, called on the farm people to "rally round the Grange . . . shouting the Farmer's cry for Freedom." A verse of another song warns them:

Oppression stalks abroad, Monopolies abound,
Their giant hands already clutch
The tillers of the ground.³⁹

Although some grangers asserted that "fight" was "no part of their program," they held that there was no wrong in endeavoring to secure the passage of laws "deemed essential to the welfare of agriculture," just as merchants or manufacturers sought to protect their interests.⁴⁰

Of the desired economic gains achieved by farmers in the 1870's, such as a reduction in freight rates and in prices for farm equipment, the Grange must share credit with other organizations, such as the Illinois Association of Farmers' Clubs and other conventions of farmers' organizations in state, regional, or even national assemblies.⁴¹ As the strength of the Grange declined from a total of twenty to twenty-three thousand locals at the end of 1874 to approximately one-fifth of that number by 1880,⁴² their influence also declined.

Although the Grange was oversold and could not make good on all its promises in the field of economics, many local Granges did help meet the need for better-organized social life in farm communities. The "real benefits" of the Order, wrote one correspondent of the agricultural press in 1875, did not consist in just being able to buy supplies at wholesale rates, although that was an important item even in good times; the idea back of forming any such secret society, said he, was a community of interests, "and in this case social interests are among the chief." This note is stressed in the opening song of the "Grange," one stanza of which reads:

Come, come away, from labor now reposing,
Let busy care a while forbear—oh, come, come away;
Come, come, our social joys renew,
And here where Trust and Friendship grew
Let true hearts welcome you—oh, come, come away.⁴³

In contributing to a richer social life, the Patrons of Husbandry served an end which the Country Life Association sought to advance a generation later.

And, like the country-life leaders later, the Grange sought

to uphold high standards of personal and community ideals. The first objective set forth by the National Grange in its declaration of purpose published in 1874 was "to develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves"; the second, "to enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes, and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits."⁴⁴

It is a common observation that youth is attracted to whatever is genuinely idealized in their social environment. Grange leaders understood this and sought to inculcate farm-life ideals in their younger members—who were accepted after they had passed fourteen years of age. One of their songs begins: "The farmer's the chief of the nation—the oldest of nobles is he; how blest beyond others his station, from want and from envy so free." A second verse is written about breaking the ground in April, "when nature is waking, and bluebirds are first on the wing." Another pictures the harvest in clear autumn weather, the "barns running over with plenty" and the "trees with their fruits bending low." The closing stanza, in full, is:

Then sing me the song of a farmer,
With comfort and health in his train,
And heed not the voice of the charmer
That whispers of speedier gain;
With all the rich treasures 'tis teeming
That Heaven on its child can bestow,
Oh, the farmer, the farmer, forever,
Three cheers for the plow, spade, and hoe.⁴⁵

Something of the Grange's contribution to the development of latent powers in the individual with a rural background is suggested by such comments as this: Men and women "who before their connection with the Order, were frightened at the echo of their own voices in any public assembly," learned to preside with dignity and self-possession at Grange meetings or farmers' institutes, and even to be

speakers.⁴⁶ Timid, shrinking countrywomen, wrote another, came to the Grange "all empty of conceit, not guessing the abilities latent within them"; there they found a stimulus in new ideas; their neighbors became more interesting and attractive to them; "music from many voices stirred their souls as never before; books and papers held out welcoming hands that they had fancied were only for the leisurely."⁴⁷

The 1870's saw the beginning of another organization that served farmers and farm communities, namely the Farmers' Institute. Like the county fair, this institution originated in Massachusetts; however, it was promoted by the departments or boards of agriculture in several states.⁴⁸ Instead of trying to draw the farmers of a county to a central place, as the county fair did, the Institute was held in the township center or village, conveniently close to the farmers it was intended to serve.

Usually planned for a time of year when farmers were not too busy with their work, this social-educational attraction drew the farmers of the community together for a series of lectures and discussion meetings lasting a couple of days, with morning, afternoon, and evening sessions. Some of the programs were lightened by music, and some of the topics were planned to engage the interest of farm women. The social values of the gatherings were increased when the farmers and their wives enjoyed a noon or evening meal together at a local Grange or lodge hall, served perhaps by the ladies of a church organization.⁴⁹

When first started in Ohio, wrote one advocate, the attendance at these "People's colleges"⁵⁰ was small, "the interest dim and flickering, and local talent helped very little"; by the sixth winter, however, the communities' largest halls were "filled to overflowing, and the interest and local discussions were all that could be asked."⁵¹ Farmers' institutes were especially well attended in communities of Scandinavians, according to E. A. Ross,⁵² probably owing to the fact that the Swedes, being an older culture, had "an unsurpassed devotion to education."⁵³

The institutes multiplied until in 1898 the number of them held in a year was estimated at two thousand.⁵⁴ Besides the paid lecturers, one-fourth of whom had received only an elementary education,⁵⁵ there were 3,300 successful farm men and women speaking at institutes in 1904.⁵⁶ By 1907 there were nearly 4,000 institutes being held with state and federal aid, with an attendance of about 1,600,000 people; and the number and interest continued to grow until 1914.⁵⁷

The period that saw the development of the Grange and the Farmers' Institute witnessed the growth of other farm organizations, whose aims were chiefly economic. Even by 1879 it appeared to some individuals that there were enough farmers' organizations—or even too many. At a meeting called that year to set up an American agricultural association, one of those present said that in addition to farmers' clubs, Granges, town, county, state and regional agricultural societies, and horticultural societies, there were associations of cotton growers, of cane growers, of tropical-fruit growers; associations of dairymen and horse breeders; also "clubs for looking after the breeding of . . . Shorthorns, Ayrshires, Jerseys, Berkshire pigs, Merino sheep, poultry, rabbits, pigeons."⁵⁸ In 1891 there were said to be 122 national agricultural organizations.⁵⁹ The number still continued to increase, however, until in 1907-08, the list filled twelve large double-column pages, the names suggesting specialty-farming organizations for the most part.⁶⁰

To the degree that these organizations helped dirt farmers solve their economic problems and thereby build a solid foundation for a cultural rural life—to that degree such organizations made a contribution to the goals of the Country Life Association. On the other hand, to the degree that they emphasized profits to the exclusion or detriment of other rural life interests, these organizations hurt this cause and contributed to the materialization of life.

Keeping pace with the growing number of farm organizations the number of farm papers also increased—to a total of 350 in 1891, according to the *Yearbook of Agriculture*.⁶¹

There were two notable trends in the development of the agricultural press. One, a continuation of that noted earlier,⁶² was towards the advertising sheet that sought a big circulation to attract advertisers by claiming to serve *all sections* of the nation. The second was the springing up of numerous organs to meet the need of special groups. While some catered to a geographical section or to an immigrant, or language, group, the majority sought to serve specialty farmers such as swine breeders, poultrymen, and so forth, sometimes on a national and sometimes on a regional basis. The year before Theodore Roosevelt appointed the Country Life Commission, Liberty H. Bailey had listed enough agricultural journals of all types to fill six double-column pages.⁶³ Both the names of the publications and the random samples examined indicate that the chief concern of most of these was with the economic aspects of farming. Some had become "cheap carriers of cheap advertising." Of the agricultural press in general it was truly said, "The farm editor continues to make the paper not only what *it* is, but what *he* is"; the ones of greatest value to rural life, then as in earlier decades, were those that "breathed in every word and line the character of the men" who were the seers of rural life.⁶⁴

The importance of financial considerations—the lure of profit—evidently did influence the character of many agricultural journals, just as they had influenced the mushroom growth of local Granges and the trend of county fairs towards horse racing and crowd-drawing amusements. But these were not all: "Trees, plants, fertilizers, farm implements, household furniture, lightning rods, books, and crop returns," wrote J. R. Dodge in the *Agricultural Department Report* for 1886, "ever are made the opportunity and medium of fraudulent commerce."⁶⁵ So, many a farmer became the victim of the desire for riches—sometimes his own desire, sometimes that of others.

This desire to become rich, asserted a contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1879, is "the universal aspiration"; it largely determines what a man chooses to work at; it arranges

many marriages, he continued, and is coming to "postpone or forbid them"; furthermore, to this desire men defer travel, study and comfortable living; success in life is measured not by whether a man has been good, learned or useful, but rather by how much he has made; even the published account of his death "is considered incomplete if it does not state how much he was worth." ⁶⁶

As at an earlier date ⁶⁷ the desire to acquire wealth was attributed to the absence in America of inherited titles and other artificial signs of social rank. Our equality of opportunity, explained one writer, "begets disappointment with any position in life except the most conspicuous, and so the whole community is on the march to get into what is called society, or to get the supposed luxuries and enjoyments of society through the only gates open to all," namely, wealth. ⁶⁸

"Every boy ought to aspire to become rich," wrote one farm editor, "provided he can be without unfaithfulness to social obligations or moral principles." ⁶⁹ A contributor added a *proviso*: if a man of sixty had enough to support every reasonable want, there was "no moderation" in him if he was still "grasping for more." ⁷⁰ An even more philosophical point of view was offered by another: "Two things have been amply demonstrated in the history of men, that fame is a mirage, and that riches do not bring happiness, and yet," he concluded, "the megalomania, worship of place, money and things goes on. . . ." ⁷¹

The old debate as to whether or not farming was profitable filled many columns of the agricultural press. Some held that farming paid the man who was satisfied with small returns on his investment and who balanced accounts "at the end of several years rather than at the end of each month." ⁷² The statistical Agent of the Department of Agriculture reported that New York farmers in 1886 were getting "only three and one-half per cent upon their capital invested; and this without any allowance for the value of their own time and labor." ⁷³ The best example of equivocation on the subject was supplied by the Secretary of Agriculture in 1895

—evidently a man better versed in politics than in economics or farming: "How," he queried, "can the forty-two per cent of the population of the United States which feeds the other fifty-eight per cent and then furnishes more than sixty-nine per cent of all the exports of the whole people, be making less profit in their vocation than those whom they feed?"⁷⁴

No matter how well contrived a farmer's plans for a profitable balance might originally be, protested one pessimistic soul, such handicaps as "late springs, dry summers, early frosts, grasshoppers, wireworms, Colorado beetles, midge weevil, pip, murrain, garget, milk fever, potato rot, oats rust, winter killing [of wheat], and all the rest," together with "low markets"—all these usually undid the farmer's plans for profit.⁷⁵ An optimist observed that farmers were better off than earlier generations because they had more labor-saving machinery, better and cheaper farm tools, a better knowledge of agriculture, "a ready cash market near at hand for every farm product, and in the aggregate a higher range of prices, together with less cost for clothing, furniture, and all necessary articles of living."⁷⁶

Some ignored the profitableness of farming and asked the farmer to raise his thoughts "above and beyond mere money-getting."⁷⁷ Even editors of farm periodicals published for profit could lecture farmer-readers on the evils of making "everything yield to the accumulation of money" at the cost of depriving their families of comforts and privileges.⁷⁸ A farm philosopher, D. H. R. Goodale held up another ideal: "Let us set up another standard than that of money in our homes; the real possessions of life are . . . what we are rather than what we have."⁷⁹

Some sought to make men take pride in quality rather than in quantity of possessions: It is laudable to desire a good home, wrote John M. Stahl in 1887. That does not necessarily mean a large house. Too many people, he averred, neglect to consider the family's comfort and the wife-mother's conveniences for the sake of getting mere size, a house big enough to keep up with or surpass one's neighbors.⁸⁰ The

problem was how to get farmers interested in improvements of farms, homes, surroundings, and much-needed agricultural technology,⁸¹ without stimulating in them an undue spirit of social rivalry and an interest in *things* as badges of success.

Rivalry over "buildings, furniture, stock, nice wagons" divides communities, hurts the cause of good schools, and even churches "feel its withering curse." Social rivalry "enters our homes and sows seeds of discord around our fireplaces, bringing sorrow and discontent where peace and harmony should reign."⁸² As a later student of rural life pointed out, "rivalry is intent on social recognition; it disregards excellence that is subjective and obscure"; and "possessions are a form of superiority that can be more widely and impressively shown than personal qualities."⁸³ Sometimes this led people to "create an impression of wealth superiority they did not possess." Eventually "the desire to get something rather than to be something"⁸⁴ became a prominent characteristic of American life.

Wealth for display could be a source of danger to rural life in several ways. In the days before labor-saving machinery was available, it could be the cause of slavish toil which, if it did not shorten life, would "dwarf and brutalize human beings."⁸⁵ The results of overwork could be seen, stated the master of the National Grange in 1872, in "numberless cases of men with poor health, crushed energies, ruined constitutions, and stunted souls"; in women, and in "children prematurely old, with the bright light of happy childhood extinguished"; and wherever life lacks the zest and cheerfulness which give it its greatest charm.⁸⁶ Another was of the opinion that hard work and acquisitiveness bore more heavily on the farmer's family than on himself—especially on his wife.⁸⁷

Part of farm women's overwork was attributed to other causes, such as inability to find hired help, lack of labor-saving devices for the farm home,⁸⁸ or to customs retained from pioneer days when women did outdoor work and chores, things no longer necessary.⁸⁹ Some of it was attributed

to lack of consideration on the part of husbands who imitated the bad habits of their fathers; and occasionally men were accused of being less considerate of their wives than they were of their brood mares.⁹⁰ "Inevitable" was one woman's judgment regarding the incessant round of preparing meals, care of children, doing the ever-recurring household tasks, plus the extra work at canning time and butchering time, and there was always housecleaning. However, husbands could be more appreciative and sympathetic.⁹¹

Among suggested solutions to farm women's overwork was learning the art of leaving things undone. Specifically, one contributor suggested, mothers should make fewer doughnuts, pies and other indigestibles, fewer cakes, jumbles, and other ruiners of children's teeth and tempers; thereby they might gain time to *be* mothers.⁹² Even if there were two or three flyspecks on the window or a few playthings littering up the room, counselled another, farm women should take a few minutes to read some article that might supply them with "cheerful thoughts for many hours," or to sit on the porch in a rocker and enjoy the setting sun and other beauties of nature. Of course, some people might "hold up their hands in horror" at the idea of resting when so much work was still to be done, this writer concluded, but many women have died of "broom disease and scrubbing fever and baking on the brain," who might have lived for many more years and continued to make their families happy "with their kindly presence."⁹³

Evidently a few farm women sought to save themselves from overwork by other means than leaving a few things undone. Priding themselves on their housekeeping ability—rather than on their homemaking ability—they sacrificed the comfort of the family, perhaps by making them live in the kitchen, so the front room would always give visitors a good impression of cleanliness and order. These forgot the purpose for which homes were established. "More nice than wise," is the way one woman characterized them.⁹⁴

Both farm women and farm men were offered advice on

making home relationships what they ought to be. "Let the mistress of the house indulge in fretfulness and complaining, and her trials are doubled, and not only her troubles, but those of her family." ⁹⁵ A woman could not be the best wife and mother if she was either always busy or so tired when not busy that she was poor company for her husband and children. Also, in order to keep children out of temptation's way, she should make them love home as the happiest place to be found. ⁹⁶

Husbands were counselled not to take their wives' care and work as "simply a right." Is it ignorance, this writer queried, that makes a man accept so much and give so little in return—be so "miserly of loving words and acts towards her, with whom love is a need for the full development of her powers?" ⁹⁷ Old age might be beautiful, ironically stated another, "but a man makes a mistake when he rushes a woman unnecessarily toward it." This sage concluded, "I like to see a man proud of his wife because she keeps young." ⁹⁸

Sane and sensible country-life ideals were being upheld by other agricultural correspondents. The right kind of rural home does not "spring up, like Aladdin's palace, at the command of friendly genii," stated the author of "Rural Homes"; nor is it the product of lucky chance; rather, it is the creation of love, purpose and patient care. ⁹⁹ The home, agreed a like-minded individual, follows the law of life "that what we give to any object is the measure of what we get from it"; the essentials are love and comfort; the "affections must be satisfied, the body must be cared for" and "neither soul nor body will thrive if the other is defrauded." Provision for comfort should be compatible with the individual's resources, but, he added, "there is often a great gain to be enjoyed through increased simplicity in living." ¹⁰⁰

Recreation was stressed as having contributions to make to fine family relationships and wholesome rural life. People need a change both of thought and activity, wrote one advocate; "the faculties of pleasure rust away from long disuse," and those banes of happiness such as envy, jealousy, mis-

anthropy, creep in to fill their places.”¹⁰¹ There was too much ground, wrote a student of rural life, for the sarcastic remark that the only recreation of New England rural people was “their funeral occasions.” Take the harness entirely off man as well as beast once in a while, he advised, and use the time not only for rest but for play: “Let the boys have their games,” and the men can look on if they do not wish to participate directly; go fishing; camp out by a stream; by whatever means possible break the deadening routine of life for the whole family. It would be well, he concluded, if Americans learned the French art of mingling work and play, thereby “making the most of life.”¹⁰² Another disciple of living-versus-getting urged that two or three families get together for monthly picnics or occasional social evenings; also, he advised the husband, “instead of hoarding up money to add more land to the farm, take the wife on a vacation.”¹⁰³ Others agreed that family unity and affection as well as neighborhood relationships would benefit by “co-mingling in pleasure and recreation.”¹⁰⁴

The ideal farm home exemplified all the contentment and happiness one might expect to find, according to one correspondent’s portrayal:

Their farms are not so large as to make slaves of themselves and their sons, and their wives and daughters are not worn out with incessant drudgery. Their dooryards blossom with flowers, their tables are supplied with many varieties of delicious fruit, their homes are made cheerful by the influence of books and music, and a taste for the pure and innocent enjoyments of life is developed in their children.¹⁰⁵

Such homes, concluded the writer, prove that “agriculture is the most useful, the most healthful, the most enjoyable employment of man.”

The ideas and ideals set forth in an address in 1872 by the man whom the Grangers that year elevated to the highest

office in the Order—Dudley W. Adams, master of the National Grange—reveal something of the thinking of farmers and also something of what right leadership could contribute to farming as a way of life. There is spirit as well as common sense in the words of this son of a rocky New England farm home who went to Iowa at the age of twenty-two. “Soft-handed agricultural editors,” said he, giving “long-winded dissertations” on how farmers should use the long winter evenings “pounding oak logs into basket stuff” while their wives wove the baskets, or ingeniously made one new lamp wick out of what was left of two or three old ones, perhaps had never thought that farmers and their families are “human beings, with human feelings, ambitions, hopes and desires”; they might be surprised to learn that farmers had some object in life other than to accumulate a “few paltry dollars by coining them from their own lifeblood, and stamping them with the sighs of weary children and worn wives.” Farmers, he went on, had heard too much of the professional blarney about “hardened hands of honest toil,” the “glory of the sweating brow,” or the “coarse blouse of homespun which covers the true and honest heart”; for into every thread of that homespun had been woven “moments of painful toil which the overworked wife had stolen from her needed rest.” Work, said he, is not necessarily glorious. “To toil like a slave, raise fat steers, cultivate broad acres, pile up treasures of bonds and lands and herds, and at the same time bow and starve the godlike form, dwarf the immortal mind, and alienate the children from the homestead,” declared this farmer-leader, was a “damning disgrace to any man, and should stamp him as worse than a brute.”¹⁰⁶

“If you farmers maintain that you can’t take time to provide yourselves with flowers, fruits, and a vegetable garden, to make a lawn and plant shade trees around the house,” queried the master of the Grange, “then what are you farming for?” If agriculture will not enable a farmer’s family to “escape physical degradation, and mental and social starvation; . . . to enjoy the amenities, pleasures, comforts, and

necessities of life," then men should not follow it. It was his belief, however, that "by keeping steadily in view the primary end of life—our happiness, our comforts, our bodily health, our mental improvement and growth," farmers could achieve the real aims of living better than men in any other calling. The great difficulty was, said he, that farmers worked too hard and thought too little.

The concluding paragraphs of Adams' address related to ideals and the generation-old but ever-recurring problem of keeping more of the progressive young people interested in farm life. The farmer of the future, he predicted, would be an educated man, understanding the composition of the soil, the chemical requirements of plants, and the general laws both of plant and animal life; however, this would be only the foundation for the right type of rural home. It would enable the farmer to provide his family with books and papers, pictures and means of amusement; to surround them with all the things that make a home lovely—lawn, flowers, garden, orchards, ornamental trees. The farm daughter of such a home would not be "so disgusted with farm life as to marry a village dolt," nor would the son become "so worn, weary, and dispirited as to leave the farm at the first opportunity and open a barber shop in some country village."¹⁰⁷

Despite ideals held up by exemplars of those ideals, rural America was losing some of the youth whose talents and abilities were needed in building the rural civilization envisioned by these men. The farm exodus was explained by Lord Bryce, in about 1890, as being due not merely to the economic causes operating in all modern nations and to the strong spirit of enterprise in American youth, but also to the distaste which "the average American—a more sociable and amusement-loving being than the English or German peasant—feels for the isolation of farm life and the monotony of farm labor."¹⁰⁸ If it is due to gregariousness, stated another commentator on the situation, it is not the desire for "the great crowds of great cities, but for any crowd at all, however small, provided it bring human association."¹⁰⁹ Man is a

spiritual being, wrote another student of rural life, and he must have communion with his kind.¹¹⁰

The dearth of social life found in many rural communities was explained by some as being due to lack of good roads. The railroad came before roads did in many parts of America, commented Edward A. Freeman, a British traveler who found plenty of mud here. "I do not say that I saw no good roads in America," he wrote, "but good roads certainly . . . [were] exceptional."¹¹¹ Others, without always attempting to assign a cause, commented on the "social leanness or social starvation" of agricultural America.¹¹²

If country life were as barren as its libelers made it appear, wrote one defender, it could not have produced so many men of outstanding ability. Many men directing world affairs had "stubbed their boyish toes on country clods and stones," and in a world of cause and effect, statesmen, philosophers, and leaders of business did not and could not have come from homes of people whose lives were barren.¹¹³ The libelers, he maintained were those uncultured city tenement dwellers "who read nothing beyond gossip, scandal, and murder sensations of the daily paper" and dime novels, got their religion from "a Sam Jones" and their culture from the billboards. Perhaps these critics were just their city cousins!

Regarding the attractiveness of the city for country youth there was rather general agreement,¹¹⁴ but not as to the cause of that attraction—or as to the cure for it. One explanation was that farm life seemed less attractive because of false views of city life; hence, the solution lay in taking rural young people to the city and letting them see the dark side of city life as well as the bright side they had heard about.¹¹⁵ An occasional agricultural correspondent pointed out that workers in moderate circumstances in the city had less comfort and security than farmers of comparable status enjoyed,¹¹⁶ while another mentioned that some less fortunate ones "spent their lives in crowded factories and miserable tenements."¹¹⁷ But all these and other suggestions designed to keep young people satisfied with farm life, although they were so numerous as

to "wear the subject threadbare,"¹¹⁸ apparently failed to accomplish their intended purpose.

One deep-rooted motive for young people's leaving the farm was very old, namely, lack of social respect for dirt farmers. Occasional suggestions were offered as to how social approval might be won. One *Country Gentleman* contributor urged his readers to refute the slanderous ideas represented by the remarks of the lady (?) who had said that she "never heard the word 'farmer,' without a vision of fat pork, blue ware, and bare floors!" Let us, he urged, be "stimulated by the consciousness of injustice done us in not being assigned our true position, to make greater efforts to acquire in our homes, habits, persons and characters, the highest type of excellence, beauty, and perfection."¹¹⁹

Some sought to increase respect for farmers by pointing out that whereas manufacturers and others merely changed the form of raw materials, "the farmer... alone, of all laborers . . . is enabled to evolve substances from evanescent particles of earth, air and moisture. . . moulding the secret processes of nature to his will."¹²⁰ Another noted that whereas farming had formerly been regarded, even by farmers themselves, as requiring only physical exertion, it would soon be, thanks to agricultural chemistry, "entitled to rank as a profession."¹²¹ A third writer suggested that the only way to disabuse public opinion of the wrong ideas about farmers was to invite the uninformed to make a tour of inspection in New England, New York State, and farther west; to visit people in their homes, at social gatherings, farmers' clubs and church assemblies. They would find, as a rule, that farmers were modest, intelligent, industrious people, who knew their own business and pursued it; who loved and were proud of their children, sparing no efforts to educate them to become sober, virtuous men and women, with habits of industry and intelligence.¹²²

Manual labor still bore, in the opinion of many, the stigma of its earlier association with serfdom in Europe and with slavery in pre-Civil War America. Parents hesitated to

place their children in training to become skilled mechanics, preferring to see them study for a profession or enter mercantile or clerical work despite the fact that "the supply of candidates for positions as 'errand boys,' dry-goods clerks, and kindred occupations . . . [was] notoriously overstocked," while the crying need of the country was for skilled labor.¹²³ Writers might state as an axiom that "all useful employments are honorable,"¹²⁴ but such "lip service" would not keep young people from being influenced by the externals and artificialities of aristocracy.¹²⁵ Scions of the aristocracy of wealth regarded even a profession as beneath them, scorned a trade, and looked upon agriculture as fit only for boors.¹²⁶ In such a social environment it would be difficult for young people to get the idea that a man might get paid "not only for doing his work, but in doing it"¹²⁷—that is, by satisfaction gained therefrom. Hence, farming, with its hard work both outdoors and in, its smaller opportunities to accumulate riches, and its comparative dearth of social activities, was under considerable handicap.

In view of all these factors, "those great cormorants, the cities," continued to attract and swallow individuals and families, leaving the farms to be worked on shares, or sold to people with "nothing but their labor to depend on and no time for anything else besides."¹²⁸ Some of these might have been sharecroppers or "hired men" seeking to become owner-operators; others were immigrant families from Europe, coming in with little capital except their physical strength and their determination to succeed in this land of opportunity.

In some farming communities, the moving in of immigrant families apparently had the same social effect as had the moving of certain racial groups into an urban neighborhood or community: it speeded up the moving out of the older group of residents. In other rural communities immigrants established a type of rural life that had much to be commended. Such a community was described by Charles Dudley Warner in his "Comments on Kentucky." At Bernstadt, he

found a community of thrifty Swiss farmers, with neat houses and comparatively good roads; although people of small means and therefore necessarily acquainted with hard work, they exhibited "a unity of simplicity of life with real refinement, courtesy, politeness and good humour." The community furnished its own recreation—a brass band, a singing society—and assembled at the *Wirtshaus* occasionally to sing songs of Switzerland, drink a little wine, and enjoy folk dancing.¹²⁹

Such socially satisfying life might have been found in many rural communities among the first, second or third generation of immigrants, especially if they owned their farms and the whole community was united by bonds of race and culture. The influence of such communities scattered throughout the United States must have contributed much to rural life, both culturally and agriculturally. Five million Germans came here in the nineteenth century.¹³⁰ Their social diversions and "their affirmance of the 'joy of living' . . . helped clear from our eyes the Puritan jaundice that made all physical and social enjoyment look sinful," wrote Edward A. Ross. "If 'innocent recreation' and 'harmless amusements' are now phrases to conjure with," he continued, "it is largely owing to the Germans and Bohemians, with their love of song and mirth and 'having a good time.'"¹³¹ The author can testify to the contributions made by social get-togethers, such as Sunday-school picnics at the lake, family reunions and family gatherings at the old homestead at Christmastime with "cousins by the dozens," in a little "Germany" in the Western Reserve District of Ohio in the days before the coming of good roads and the automobile.¹³²

Swedish communities were likewise noted for their "sociability and hospitality," their good farming and "neighborly spirit," their interest in music and education, and, later, in farmers' cooperatives. Finally, wrote Andrew A. Stomberg, they were a people whose economic achievements "formed

the material basis for a life in which ethical and aesthetic values . . . [were] dominant." ¹³³

The life in older communities, where the most prosperous families had sold their farms or moved to town to live off the rentals of their land, was something quite different. The moving out of the better-educated and more successful families, or of those moving to town in search of better schools, churches and more social opportunity for their families, left these communities definitely poorer. The town-dwelling farm-owners were henceforth not so interested in having taxes voted for improvement of schools and roads; nor would they spend money so readily on the improvement of their farms, buildings and fences now that they were not living on the land. The impermanent tenants could not in these respects make up for the loss to the community of the former resident-owners: hence, communities and community life either stood still or retrogressed. ¹³⁴

Instead of a single class, simultaneously landlord, farmer and laborer, wrote Fred Powers in 1895, there were developing three distinct classes, and the American farmer was "following the English yeoman into extinction." The tenant, obliged to divide the produce of the land with the landlord, would grow still poorer as population increased and land-value rose, he predicted, for the sharper the competition, the greater the rent the landlord could demand. ¹³⁵ The "great question" in many countries, said George B. Loring, is, "How can the comfort, prosperity, and intelligence of the agricultural population be best subserved and promoted?" In our own nation, he continued, the question is, how can a man on the farm of average size pay his taxes and "gratify his desires with regard to the education of his family, the comfort and culture of his home and the informing of his mind?" ¹³⁶

The agitation among farmers in the Grange and other organizations in the 1870's and again in the 1890's; the movement from farms to villages, towns and cities; and the protests of people inured to patience through discipline by nature in

frosts, floods, and drought—all these indicated that there was something amiss in the socio-economic organization of American rural life. However, the Secretary of Agriculture, who should have been an understanding leader of farmers in their struggle against heavy odds, writing in the *Department Year-book* for 1896, maintained that farmers were not so unfortunate as was claimed: the intelligent, practical and successful farmers needed no help, and the ignorant, impractical and indolent ones deserved none. In any event, he went on, "It is not the business of Government to legislate in behalf of any class of citizens because they are engaged in any special calling, no matter how essential the calling may be to the needs and comforts of civilization." Lawmakers "cannot erase natural laws or restrict or efface the operation of economic laws. It is a beneficent arrangement of the order of things and the conditions of human life," went on this incumbent of the highest office in the Department of Agriculture, under the high protective tariff administration then in power, "that legislators are not permitted to repeal, amend, or revise the laws of production and distribution."¹³⁷

Rather than looking to the Department of Agriculture or the Grange for help in solving their problems many farm people looked to education. When the Morrill Land Grant College Law was enacted in 1862, many people believed that the problem of education for farmers was definitely on its way to being solved. It is a matter of general knowledge among rural leaders now, however, that for fifty years rural people did not get what they expected the Morrill act to give them, namely, a type of education that would develop their sons both culturally and agriculturally without unfitting them for the vocation of farming.¹³⁸

The agricultural college was looked to by farm people for more than profitable methods of agriculture: "It was intended to give dignity to labor."¹³⁹ For this reason they opposed the dropping of the requirement of manual labor. They did not want farm youth to lose habits of industry; and, too, they did not have too much faith in the education-

by-lecture method of teaching farming, believing rather what certain educators later came to believe: that youth will *learn* what they *do!*¹⁴⁰ Some believed that "in tilling the ground there is a moral influence" not to be found in the study room."¹⁴¹

The new institutions were criticized not merely for having given up manual labor but, too, for not requiring all students to study agriculture. This practice, asserted one critic, was as wrong as to permit a West Point student to choose not to take military training.¹⁴² By 1886 "the popular disappointment with our agricultural colleges in general" was such as to make one agricultural correspondent conclude, "A verdict that they should be abolished would be perfectly justifiable."¹⁴³

While admitting the disappointment of rural people with the institutions, C. B. Morrow maintained that they were being criticized for what they could not prevent. The fact that few students were taking the longer agricultural courses, said he, was due to the institutions' lack of facilities, to lack of faith in theoretical education for farming, and to "current talk, in public and private, of the deplorable oppression and scanty rewards of the farmer, and of the ease with which wealth, honor, position . . . [could] be gained by those in other callings."¹⁴⁴ In 1907 Seaman A. Knapp charged that agricultural colleges had not only failed to educate boys for farm life, but that they had been "more potent than the universities in transferring bright young men from farms to other vocations."¹⁴⁵

One of the recognized needs of working farmers was educated men of their own vocation who could represent them and their cause in the government. "Our laws are not made or administered by the laboring class," wrote Suel Foster of Iowa in 1870, because "they are not trained for it." If the men educated in our agricultural colleges forsake their group, then "the laboring class continue unrepresented in our government."¹⁴⁶ Twenty-five years later this situation had not improved much apparently, for, said the Hon. Samuel J.

Logan, while greater in number than any other class or all classes, the farmer is "subject to laws which totally ignore his existence as a factor in society."¹⁴⁷ Agricultural colleges made an important contribution at this point but farmers had to wait until after World War I for a leader like Henry Wallace to appear and exert influence in Washington. By the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, the total Federal funds secured for all land-grant colleges amounted to only some \$23,000,000.¹⁴⁸

Considering the niggardly support given them, the land-grant colleges rendered important service to farming, especially in science basic to agriculture, and in training teacher-leaders.¹⁴⁹ After 1875 experiment-station work got under way slowly, but the Federal government gave no support for this work until the Hatch act of 1887. In 1893 the American Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations recommended the teaching of elementary agriculture in the common schools.¹⁵⁰ Cornell University began its notable work in the field of adapting nature-study to the elementary school in 1895, thereby contributing much to an understanding and appreciation of the rural environment.¹⁵¹

Another important development for rural life was in the field of secondary education. Public high schools had increased in the North Central states until by 1900 they had 1,376 out of a national total of 2,526.¹⁵² Most high schools, of course, were in towns and cities, or else they were in villages not too accessible to farm boys and girls, but the idea of local township high schools was being realized in some rural sections and discussed in others. One advocate urged the establishment of a high school in every township, with agriculture in the curriculum; it is important, said he, to have the school accessible, because a youth sent away to get academic training loses interest in farm life.¹⁵³ Another advocate pointed out that rural public high schools were needed to bridge the "great fixed gulf between the rural school and the agricultural college."¹⁵⁴ It was rather generally admitted, wrote Henry R. Corbett in 1900, that rural youth had been too long neg-

lected, but "the hour has struck." Two states, he pointed out, already claimed they had made compulsory the providing of secondary education by legislation requiring districts either to provide high school facilities or to pay tuition for their students to go elsewhere.¹⁵⁵

In the field of informal education, in addition to the influence of the farmers' institutes, there was, beginning around 1890, a revival of interest in the Grange, and the membership of that organization climbed in the next decade or so from one hundred thousand to about one million, scattered among some thirty thousand subordinate granges.¹⁵⁶ Under the stimulus of a "world-wide depression" bringing farm prices that were "the lowest ever recorded in the United States,"¹⁵⁷ farmers became politically alive and sent a few representatives to Congress. With their similarly discontented allies in the ranks of organized labor they built up a third party that in 1894 polled one and a half million votes.¹⁵⁸ As a consequence they gained from Congress an important boon for rural life, namely the establishment of rural free delivery. Beginning with a few counties in 1896, it had met such a response on the part of the people by 1900 that it was "no longer questioned." By 1908 there were reported to be 39,339 rural mail carriers.¹⁵⁹

Also in the field of informal education influences was the telephone, with its social and mental stimulus, not to mention its economic importance and its significance in such emergencies as summoning a doctor or calling neighbors in case of fire. The party line, often built on a cooperative basis, made its way into rural homes in the 1890's. While the butt of many a joke and an agency of gossip on occasions, the party line did help greatly to overcome the isolation formerly handicapping many farm homes. It made the planning of social occasions easier. By 1902 there were over twenty-one thousand lines, serving over a quarter of a million families.¹⁶⁰

Other developments, whose full significance was not appreciated until later, were in the field of transportation. Railroads had given farmers access to markets as lines were ex-

tended westward, but often the farmer had no choice but to pay the high freight rates the railroads charged or to sell to one buyer at the local railroad station. The coming of the automobile and good roads changed this. The Good Roads Association was formed in 1892, and in 1893 the Office of Public Roads was established in Washington, D.C.¹⁶¹ The automobile, under the production and distribution methods of Henry Ford, revolutionized rural transportation, thereby putting the farmer in touch with more distant markets and affording some competition for the local buyer or middleman. It also afforded his family access to better medical and hospital care, to libraries, and a whole stream of new social influences, good and bad. For example, with good roads and an auto, more prosperous farmers might go to better churches in town or city, but the little crossroads meetinghouse might become less valuable without their leadership.

The new century brought other notable achievements for the cause of better rural life. Agriculture was included in the curriculum of teacher-training or normal schools.¹⁶² By 1903 two North Carolina professors had worked out a textbook for agriculture in the elementary school,¹⁶³ and the following year agriculture and nature-study were reported to be included in the Tar Heel State's elementary curriculum.¹⁶⁴ In 1906 the teaching of agriculture and home economics in high schools with state aid was encouraged by the Virginia legislature. It provided twenty thousand dollars, to be divided among ten high schools, one in each Congressional district.¹⁶⁵ A few private secondary schools offered agricultural courses before 1906, and the number of both public and private secondary schools offering agriculture courses increased rapidly. By 1910, according to the Commissioner of Education *Report*, some thirty-four thousand secondary students were studying agriculture, and about twenty-eight thousand were studying "domestic economy."¹⁶⁶

Another significant development for country life at the beginning of the new century was the growth of organized club work for farm boys and girls. Such clubs were formed

independently in several communities in Ohio, Illinois, and in other farm states. Their prototype may have appeared before 1900, but rapid growth came in the new century. Fostered by Farmers' Institute organizations, progressive schoolmen, and others, the clubs enrolled some 150,000 boys and girls in 395 counties of twenty-nine states by 1909.¹⁶⁷ After the passage of the Smith-Lever act in 1914, these clubs became a prominent part of the agricultural extension program. By 1926, these farm-youth 4-H clubs had begun to influence attitudes. "The results were a little surprising," for studies indicated that farm youth were preferring the farm as a place to live.¹⁶⁸ Something was happening to the value-systems of rural youth. The kind of education farm parents had long hoped for was beginning to function.

Still another important institution for rural life saw its beginnings in the 1900-1910 decade. This was the county agent's work, begun independently in a Pennsylvania county, an Illinois county, and in the South. In the South it grew out of the farmer's cooperative demonstration work established there under the leadership of Seaman A. Knapp, with the aid of the Department of Agriculture and the General Education Board. Starting in Texas in 1906 with one agent, it grew so rapidly—thanks to the stimulus of "Boll Weevil"—that by 1910 there were 450 agents employed in 455 counties of twelve states. The work was directed, wrote Knapp in about 1910, towards increasing farm crops, "logically the first step towards a true uplift"; or, he continued, "it may be considered a system of rural education for boys and adults by which a readjustment of country life can be effected and placed upon a higher plane of profit, comfort, culture, influence and power."¹⁶⁹

In the two Northern ventures, the county agent work was started in a spirit of service by men not professionally interested in agriculture. Within three years it had won recognition, and from 1910 on the work was promoted by private agencies, by independent groups, by state support, and, beginning in 1914-15, by Federal aid. By 1914 some 240

counties in twenty-seven Northern and Western states had employed county agents. The growth in the South was even faster, for by that year there were 1138 men and women serving 721 counties in Dixie.¹⁷⁰ This rapid expansion was made possible, of course, by education of young men and women for such work by the agricultural colleges.

Another important gain for rural life came in 1916 when the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act was passed. This permitted the federal government to offer help to states interested in carrying forward programs of secondary school education in agriculture and domestic science for farm boys and girls. With teachers trained in the agricultural colleges, this work went forward rapidly; thus, formal education together with the informal education of the 4-H clubs provided rural youth with new skills and a new outlook on farm life.

One of the agencies that was to make a significant impact on rural life was only in the incubation stage of development in the early years of the twentieth century. This was wireless communication, which, developed into radio, was to change the mental diet of farm families after World War I and put rural people in touch with current happenings all over the world. Weather and market reports were of invaluable help to producers of farm products, and colleges of agriculture could have instantaneous communication with their farmer clientele. Isolation, that long-time handicap of rural life, was at last overcome.

Finally, but by no means least in importance, by 1900 or 1910 "the practicability of the commercial transmission of electricity to points at considerable distance had been conclusively proved."¹⁷¹ What this was to mean to farmers in the course of a few decades would have seemed unbelievable to rural leaders of the nineteenth century. At last the tireless willing servant that could ease the drudgery of farm life had been found.

Therefore, when Theodore Roosevelt appointed the Commission on Country Life in August, 1908, there were already the beginnings of institutions that were to make im-

portant contributions towards a farm life that was "less solitary, fuller of opportunity, freer from drudgery, more comfortable, happier and more attractive." ¹⁷² And these were supplemented by still other agencies established before the first American Country Life Association meeting was held. Together they included free public schools, agricultural colleges, the establishment of rural free delivery, the party line, the teaching of agriculture and domestic science in public high schools, clubs for farm boys and girls, the county agricultural agent and home demonstration agent, the automobile (and eventually the tractor), rural electrification and wireless, or radio. If all these new agencies could be utilized for the purpose of achieving a more abundant life for farm people, the promise of a richer, happier rural life seemed assured.

Whether or not these new agencies would be used in ways that would make for a more abundant life, for real riches and happier homes, would depend upon the ideals that guided their further development. It was at this point that the Roosevelt Commission and the founders of the American Country Life Association made their greatest contribution, namely in setting forth and publicizing genuine, worthy rural-life ideals.

Bailey's book, *The American Country Life Movement*, went through several editions. The annual National Country Life Conference brought together an increasing number of leaders in the fields of education, Church, press, agricultural extension, and other service agencies—as many as fifteen hundred registered for the 1930 meeting. Their *Proceedings*, published in book form, made important contributions to the literature of rural life. Beginning in 1923, the American Country Life Association published a monthly called *Rural America*.¹⁷⁴ Through its pages the ideas and ideals of rural leaders reached out to many who could not attend national conferences or see copies of the Association's *Proceedings*.

Through all these and other agencies public opinion was influenced; thus, by the time Henry A. Wallace became Secretary of Agriculture in 1933, in the midst of a world-

wide depression, leaders of American thought in many areas of life were prepared for a New Deal for rural America.

* * *

barely

The American Country Life Association ~~was~~ survived World War II. Its founder, Dr. Butterfield, died in 1936. Its periodical, *Rural America*, ceased publication in 1941. The ~~the~~ national conference ~~was~~ held in 1944, Only 146 attended ~~it~~, because of war-time travel restrictions, but these 146 were representatives of 66 *different state and national organizations* interested in rural life. And so passed another phase of the American country-life movement.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. U.S. Congress, Senate, Letter Appointing Commission in the *Report of the Country Life Commission*, Senate Documents, 60th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 705 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), pp. 22-23.

2. *Report of the Commission on Country Life*, with an introduction by Theodore Roosevelt (New York, Sturgis & Walton, 1917), pp. 18-19.

3. *ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

4. *ibid.*, pp. 123-124.

5. *ibid.*, pp. 138-139.

6. *ibid.*, pp. 28-29, also p. 107.

7. *Report of the Country Life Commission* (Spokane, Washington, n.d.), pp. 5, 3 (a reprint of Sen. Doc., 60th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 705).

8. Liberty H. Bailey in *Report of the Commission on Country Life* (Sturgis & Walton ed.), p. 5.

9. *ibid.*, p. 9.

10. Liberty H. Bailey, *The Country Life Movement* (New York, Macmillan, 1911), pp. 1-2.

11. *ibid.*, p. 63.

12. *ibid.*, p. 180.

13. *ibid.*, p. 201.

14. *ibid.*, p. 202.

15. *ibid.*, p. 202.

16. *ibid.*, p. 204.

17. *ibid.*, pp. 211-212.

18. *ibid.*, p. 220.

19. John R. Gillette, "Conditions and Needs of Country Life," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, XL (March, 1912), pp. 6-8.
20. *Annals*, March, 1912, pp. 149-150.
21. *ibid.*, p. 129.
22. E. de Brunner, in "Tributes to Kenyon L. Butterfield," *Rural America*, XIV (Feb., 1936), p. 8.
23. *Annals*, March, 1912, p. 15.
24. *Proceedings of the First National Country Life Conference* (Geneva, N.Y., 1919), pp. 1-3, 167.
25. *ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
26. *Proceedings of the Sixth National Country Life Conference* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1924), pp. 4-5.
27. *Proceedings of the Seventh National Country Life Conference* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 33.
28. *Proceedings of the Fifteenth American Country Life Conference* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1933), p. 47.
29. Bailey, *The Country Life Movement*, pp. 1, 5.
30. *Proceedings of the Third National Country Life Conference* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 1.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Walter of Henley's *Husbandry*, together with an anonymous husbandry, etc., the transcripts, translations and glossary by Elizabeth Lamond (London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1890), p. 5.
2. *ibid.*, p. 21.
3. Sir Thomas More, "Utopia," in *Library of World's Classics* (New York, The Colonial Press, 1901), Julian Hawthorne, ed., *Ideal Empires and Republics*, pp. 139-141.
4. Thomas Tusser, *Five Hundred Points of Good Hus-*

bandry (London: Printed by T. R. and M. D. for the Company of Stationers, 1672), pp. 7-8.

5. Master [Anthony] Fitzherbert, *The Book of Husbandry*, edited by Walter W. Skeat (reprinted from the 1534 edition for the English Dialect Society by Trubner & Co., 1882), pp. 95-97.

6. Conrad Heresbach, *The Whole Art and Trade of Husbandry*, translated by Barnaby Googe (London: Printed by T. S. for R. More, 1614).

7. *The Scot's Farmer* (Edinburgh, 1773), I, 2-3.

8. Samuel Hartlib, ed., *Legacie of Husbandry* (London, Printed by F. M. for R. Wodnothe, 1655), p. 174. Careless readers might think Hartlib the author, but the initials of the contributors, or real authors, are given in small type at the end of their articles.

Editor Hartlib's experience did not permit him to discover the joker in the recipe sent in for making "butter better than ordinary." The recommended procedure was: "The milk as soon as it comes from the cow must be strained; then churned as usually cream is done." The unwary reader was assured that one pound of this butter would be "worth a pound and a half of your butter which is made from cream." *Legacie*, p. 263.

9. *ibid.*, pp. 4, 83, 88, 90, etc. Child wrote about 136 of the 304 pages of *Legacie*.

10. *ibid.*, p. 93. Child was also interested in the effects of human diet, the cause of fermentation, etc.

11. John Houghton's *Collection on Husbandry and Trade* (London 1681-1683), a two- and four-page newspaper, later classified by some as an agricultural periodical.

12. John A. Comenius, *A Reformation of Schools*, translated into English and published by Samuel Hartlib (London, 1642).

13. Donald McDonald, *Agricultural Writers* from Sir Walter of Henley to Arthur Young, 1200-1800 (London, H. Cox, 1908), p. 183.

14. Rodney H. True, "The Early Development of Agricultural Societies in the United States," in *American Historical Association Annual Report* (1885-), 1920 (Washington, 1925), p. 295.

15. Royal Agricultural Society *Journal* (London, 1840-65), XXV (1864), 2.

15. Louis W. Moffit, *England on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1925), p. 112; also p. 2.

17. Dr. John Mitchell in *American Husbandry* (2 Vol., London, J. Bew, 1775), I, 68.

18. Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, with notes by George W. Green (New York, 1879), I, 308.

19. James Thomson, *Poetical Works*, edited by George Gilfillan (New York, 1854), pp. 35, 128-129, 130, 132.

20. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Hartford, 1804), II, 152-153, 139, 298.

21. Arthur Young, *Rural Economy*, with "The Rural Socrates" (London, T. Beckett, 1770), pp. 475, 477.

22. *ibid.*, p. 446.

23. See below, p. 54.

24. See above, p. 11.

25. See above, p. 15.

26. John Mitchell, *American Husbandry*, I, 68.

27. Hector St. John [de Crèvecoeur], *Letters from an American Farmer* (Philadelphia, Mathew Carey, 1793), p. 34. These letters were written before the American Revolution.

28. *ibid.*, p. 41.

29. "Letters From an European Traveler in America to His Friend in London," *Museum*, IV, 210.

30. *Museum*, IV, 475-476.

31. *ibid.*, p. 475.

32. Quoted in Henry T. Tuckerman, *America and her Commentators* (New York, Charles Scribner, 1864), pp. 114-115.

33. Thomas Cooper, *Some Information Respecting America* (Dublin, P. Wogan, etc., 1794), p. 51. "Neatness among

the common farmers, and taste among the most opulent cultivators, have not yet found their way."

34. Jared Eliot, *Essays on Field Husbandry in New England* and other papers, 1748-1762, in Columbia University Studies, American Agriculture, edited by Harry J. Carman and Rexford G. Tugwell (New York, Columbia University Press, 1934), p. 52.

35. *ibid.*, p. 99.

36. *ibid.*, p. 23.

37. *ibid.*, p. 1.

38. *ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

39. American Philosophical Society *Transactions*, I (1769-1770; Philadelphia, A. Small, 1821), iii.

40. "Agricultural Societies," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. I, 14th ed.

41. James Bowdoin, *A Philosophical Discourse* addressed to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Boston, Benjamin Eades & Son. 1790), p. 8.

42. John Mitchell, *American Husbandry*, I, 82, 180.

43. *Proceedings* of the Agricultural Convention and of the State Agricultural Society of South Carolina, 1839-1845 (Columbia, S.C., Sumner and Carroll, 1846), gives the date as 1784.

44. *Memoirs* of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society, I (Philadelphia, Jane Aitkin, 1808), i.

45. Annual *Report* of the Commissioner of Patents for 1852, Part II, *Agriculture* (Washington, Robert Armstrong, printer, 1853), pp. 16-17.

46. *The Columbian Magazine*, Sept. 1786, p. 34.

47. Philadelphia Ag. Soc. *Memoirs*, I, i.

48. *ibid.*, pp. xvii-xx.

49. *Columbian Magazine*, September, 1786, p. 36.

50. *Report* of the Commissioner for Patents for 1857 (Washington, James B. Steedman, Printer, 1858), *Agriculture*, pp. 22-23.

51. Marshall P. Wilder, *Address*, at Dedham, Massachusetts, n.d.

52. *Washington's Writings*, Sparks' edition, X, 81. Also see George Washington, *Letters to Young and Sinclair* (Alexandria, Va., Cotton and Stewart, 1803), p. 116.
53. *Annals of Congress* (42 vols., Washington, Gales and Seaton, 1834-1856), 4th Cong., 2nd Sess., I, 1594-1595.
54. *ibid.*, pp. 1671, 1835, 1890.
55. Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (2 Vols., New York, The Macmillan Co., 1931), I, 311.
56. John Taylor of Caroline County, Maryland, *Arator* (Petersburg, Whitworth & Yancey, 1818), p. 39, quoting from a pamphlet on Agriculture in America by William Strickland (London, 1801).
57. *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., XXXVI, 2179.
58. *Proceedings of S.C. Ag. Convention and Ag. Society*, pp. 3-4.
59. *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture*, IV (Philadelphia, B. Warner, 1818), xxi-xxiv.
60. *Columbian Magazine*, April, 1787, pp. 356-359.
61. *Museum* X (Sept., 1791), 121-122.
62. *Museum*, IV (July-Dec., 1788), 442-443.
63. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Andrew Lipscomb (20 Vols., Washington, the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1905), X, 429.
64. Washington, *Letters to Young and Sinclair*, p. 6. Cf. Richard Peters in *Phila. Ag. Soc. Memoirs*, II, iii.
65. Washington, *Letters to Young and Sinclair*, p. 122.
66. *Philadelphia Ag. Soc. Memoirs*, I, 171.
67. Sir Humphrey Davey, *Elements of Agricultural Chemistry* (London, Longman, Hurst, etc., 1813), p. 37.
68. *Philadelphia Ag. Soc. Memoirs*, II, iii.
69. *ibid.*, p. iii.
70. Washington, *Letters to Young and Sinclair*, pp. 22, 53.
71. James Mease, "Eulogium on William West," *Phila. Ag. Soc. Memoirs*, II, 147-163.

72. Letter of Richard Peters to A. Hamilton, Esq., dated Aug. 27, 1791, in Washington's *Letters to Young and Sinclair*. Regarding the matter of taxation, see also Cong. Annals, 4th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1796-7), VI, 1890.

73. R. H. Tawney, *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century* (London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1912), p. 402.

74. John Taylor, *Arator*, pp. 20, 37, 38.

75. *ibid.*, pp. 29, iii, 35.

76. Charles A. Beard, *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1949), p. 323.

77. *ibid.*, p. 323.

78. Taylor, *Arator*, p. vii.

79. *ibid.*, p. 195.

80. *ibid.*, pp. 184 ff.

81. *ibid.*, p. 257.

82. *ibid.*, p. 42.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Elkanah Watson, *History of the Rise, Progress and existing condition of Western Canals, etc.*, together with the Rise, Progress, and existing state of *Modern Agricultural Societies* on the Berkshire system, from 1807 to the establishment of the Board of Agriculture in the State of New York (Albany, D. Steele & Co., 1820), pp. 123-132.

2. "Atticus," under date "Philadelphia, March 9, 1767" in *Museum*, IV (July-Dec., 1788), pp. 114-115. The variety of styles was due to the humble imitators of the wealthy having "the pink of the reigning mode" to get married in, and then wearing common garb and keeping "their fine clothes for fairs and other extraordinary" events.

3. Rodney H. True, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

4. Elkanah Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, or Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, edited by Winston C. Watson (2nd. ed., New York, Dana & Co., 1857), p. 423.

5. *Niles Register*, November 4, 1815, pp. 162-163.

6. *ibid.*, October 14, 1815.
7. Charles P. Warner, ed., *Picturesque Berkshire* (Northampton, Mass., The W. F. Adams Co., 1893), *passim*.
8. *Transactions* of the New York State Agricultural Society, XIX (1859), B. P. Johnson, Secretary (Albany, 1860), 44.
9. *Niles Register*, XII (July 12, 1817), 314.
10. Alfred C. True, *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785-1925* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1929), p. 14.
11. Phila. Ag. Soc. *Memoirs*, IV (1818), in its library list page xvii, refers to "Constitution of the Society of Practical Agriculture," near Bardstown, Kentucky. The *Journal* of United States Agricultural Society (Washington, 1852-62), V (1856-57), 246 mentions Kentucky.
12. Constitution of Trumbull County Society in *American Farmer* (Baltimore), I (1819-20), 295.
13. W. W. Claxton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee* (Philadelphia, P. W. Lewis & Co., 1880), p. 375.
14. John Wood's "Two Years' Residence," in Reuben G. Thwaite's *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1907), X, 343.
15. *American Farmer*, III (1821-22), 121.
16. *Proceedings* S.C. Ag. Convention and Ag. Society, p. 4.
17. Phila. Ag. Society *Memoirs*, I, iii.
18. Minute Book of the Agricultural Society of Albe-marle reprinted in the Am. Hist. Assoc. *Annual Report*, I (1918), 263-349.
19. James Flint's "Letters from America" in Thwaite's *Early Western Travels*, IX, 270.
20. *New England Farmer*, V (1826-27), 148. N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Transactions*, VII (1847), 768. *Goodsell's Genesee Farmer*, I (1833-34), 39.
21. Maj. Edmund Kirby, Address, in *New England Farmer*, X (1831-32), 164.

22. Watson, *Hist. of Mod. Ag. Societies*, pp. 124-137.
23. See chart in Bidwell and Falconer, *Hist. of Ag.*, p. 191.
24. *Niles Register*, XII (July 12, 1817), 313-314. Benjamin P. Johnson, "State Agricultural Associations," in *Transactions of the Illinois State Agricultural Society*, John A. Kennicott, Corresponding Secretary, I (1853-54; pub. 1855), 13-14.
25. Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, p. 145.
26. See below, p. 82.
27. Financing fairs was a serious problem even in favorably situated counties like Jefferson, N.Y. See *N. Eng. Farmer*, X (1831-32), 164.
28. A. C. True in *History of Agricultural Education*, pp. 12-14 says that by the end of 1819 societies had been set up in all but six counties in New York.
29. Watson, *Hist. of Rise of Ag. Societies*, made this criticism of the old-type societies such as those in Boston and Philadelphia. In view of the high mortality rate of counties set up on the Berkshire plan when state aid was withdrawn the same criticism would appear to be justified here.
30. N.Y. State Ag. Society *Transactions*, XIX (1859), 44.
31. Bidwell and Falconer, *Hist of Agriculture*, pp. 189-190.
32. *New England Farmer*, IV, (1825-26), 156; V (1826-27), 233.
33. Maj. Edmund Kirby in *New England Farmer*, X (1832), 164.
34. Emily F. A. [Hoag] Sawtelle, *The National Influence of a Single Farm Community* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1921), pp. 36 ff.
35. *American Farmer*, I (1819-20), 27-28. *Proceedings Ag. Convention and Ag. Soc. of S.C.*, pp. 3-4. *Journal of U.S. Ag. Soc* (1857), p. 246. Benj. P. Johnson, "State Ag. Associations," in *Ill. State Ag. Soc. Transactions*, I (1855), 13-14.

36. *Niles Register*, XII (1817), 127.
37. *op. cit.*, p. 191.
38. Dan Bradley in letter to *Genesee Farmer*, II (1842),
43. An editorial, *ibid.*, p. 1, mentions the same practice.
39. Report of Committee of Essex Co., Mass., Ag. Soc. in *N. Eng. Farmer and Horticulture Journal*, VII (1828-29), 250.
40. Daniel Adams, address, *N. Eng. Farmer*, IV (1825-26), 156-157.
41. Dan Bradley in *Genesee Farmer*, II (1832), 43.
42. Letter of "The Country Farmer" addressed to Mr. Fleet, editor of the *New York Farmer*, reprinted in *Genesee Farmer*, I (1831), 370.
43. J. Hawley, letter to *Genesee Farmer*, II (1832), 26. Daniel Adams to *N. Eng. Farmer*, IV (1825-26), 156. Dan Bradley, *Gen. Farmer*, II (1832), 43.
44. *Genesee Farmer*, II (1832), 1.
45. Howell and Tenney, *Bi-Centennial History of the County of Albany, New York, 1609-1886* (New York, W. W. Munsell & Co., 1886), p. 333.
46. *American Farmer*, I (1819-1820), 1.
47. *ibid.*, p. 5.
48. *ibid.*, p. 6.
49. *ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
50. *ibid.*, p. 6.
51. *ibid.*, pp. 20-21, 36-37, 61.
52. *ibid.*, pp. 21-22, 28.
53. *ibid.*, p. 68.
54. *ibid.*, p. 105 ff.
55. *ibid.*, pp. 215, 240, 247, 255.
56. *ibid.*, p. 265.
57. *ibid.*, p. 415.
58. *American Farmer*, II (1820-21), 1.
59. George Aldrich, *Walpole As It Was and As It Is* (Claremont, N.H., Claremont Manufacturing Co., 1880), *passim*.

60. Joseph A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, 1726-1871* (2nd ed., Staunton, Va., C. R. Caldwell, 1902), pp. 382, 404.

61. William E. Ogilvie, *Pioneer Agricultural Journalists* (Chicago, privately printed by Arthur G. Leonard, 1927), p. 4.

62. *ibid.*, quoted on pp. 3-4 from *Plough, Loom and Anvil*.

63. *American Farmer*, I (1819-20), 111.

64. Photostat copy by New York State Library of the *Albany Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, p. 2, column 5.

65. *Plough Boy*, I (1819-20), 1-2.

66. *Plough Boy*, II (1820-21), 313.

67. See note 8 on p. 220.

68. *Plough Boy*, I (1819-20), 19.

69. *ibid.*, p. 19.

70. *Dictionary of National Biography* (20 Vols., New York, Scribners, 1928-36).

71. *New England Farmer*, II (1823-24), 1.

72. *ibid.*, p. 14.

73. *ibid.*, p. 20, 22.

74. *American Farmer*, IV (1825-26), 156.

75. Henry O'Reilly, *Sketches of Rochester*, with incidental notes of western New York (Rochester, Luther Tucker, 1835), *passim*.

76. Ogilvie, *Pioneer Agricultural Journalists*, pp. 22, 35.

77. *Goodsell's Genesee Farmer*, I (July 4, 1833-34), 1.

78. *ibid.*, p. 15.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 11. His three-inch article on turnips contrasts with the long, verbose reprints on the same subject in *American Farmer*, I. Other items Goodsell used: "Plant Late Potatoes," 1¼ inches; "How to Dry Beans and Peas," 2 inches; "Buckwheat—Type of Soil, When to Sow, Amount of Seed," all in 2-3 inches; others on wool, butter, barley, etc.

80. *ibid.*, p. 1.

81. *ibid.*, p. 22.

82. *ibid.*, p. 15.

83. *ibid.*, p. 23.

84. *ibid.*, p. 24.

85. *ibid.*, p. 22.

86 Written for *New York Farmer*, reprinted in *Genesee Farmer*, I (1831), 331. Cf. *New Eng. Farmer*, IV (1825-26), 54.

87. *Genesee Farmer*, I (1831), 341-342.

88. *ibid.*, pp. 358-359.

89. *ibid.*, p. 349 Cf. *N. Eng. Farmer*, IV (1825-26), p. 195; also "Howard" in *American Farmer*, I (1819-20), p. 96.

90. See above, pp. 22-23. Benjamin Vaughn, who helped get Arthur Young's *Rural Economy*, including Hirzel's "Rural Socrates" published in the U.S., wrote anonymously, *Dict. Am. Biog.* Perhaps he was the author of the letters written and signed "The Country Farmer."

91. See *Niles Register*, June 4, 1825, p. 212; *New England Farmer*, V (1826-27), 27; *Genesee Farmer*, I (1831), 415; II (1832), 142.

Before beginning his work, Fellenberg traveled on foot through Switzerland, mingling with the farmers in their homes and at their labor. In 1799 he bought the farm near Berne and started the school. Taking sons of both rich and poor, he combined labor on the farm and in shop with regular classroom work. Barnes *Home Cyclopedia*, IV, "Biography," 394.

92. *Niles Register*, June 4, 1825, p. 212.

93. *Genesee Farmer*, II (1832), 142; I (1831), 206, *New England Farmer*, IV (1825-26), 166, mentions another Fellenberg school at Derby, Conn.

A. C. True in *Hist. of Ag. Education in the U.S.*, p. 35, says, "Between 1819 and 1830, manual labor schools were in operation in Connecticut, Florida, Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina."

94. Neil C. Stevens, "America's First Agricultural

School," in *The Scientific Monthly*, XIII (July-Dec., 1921), 531 ff.

95. Robert Hallowell Gardiner in *Dict. Nat. Biography*.

96. Stevens, *op. cit.*, quotes catalogues of 1823 and 1824.

97. Fellenberg's difficulties were recounted by a visitor to the school in "A Visit to Hofwyl," reprinted in *Farmers' Register*, II (1832-33), 24-25.

98. Neil C. Stevens, *op. cit.*

99. *Niles Register*, No. 30, 1832, pp. 202-203. *New England Farmer*, IV (1825-26), 100, 27, 31. *Letters of James Madison*, III, 284, 585, 597.

100. Frederick Butler, *The Farmer's Manual* (Hartford, Samuel G. Goodrich, 1819).

101. *Am. Farmer*, I (1819-1820), *passim*, 139-380.

102. *ibid.*, p. 283.

103. American Phil. Society *Trans.*, III (1793), xxii, xi.

104. Mathias Spalding, Address in *New England Farmer*, IV (1825-26), 36.

105. Athanasius Fenwick, Address to St. Mary's County Agricultural Society, in *American Farmer*, I (1819-1820), 183.

106. Butler, *Farmer's Manual*, p. iii.

107. Kirby, Address to Jefferson Co. Ag. Soc., *N. Eng. Farmer*, X (1831-1832), 172.

108. *ibid.*

109. *New England Farmer & Horticultural Journal*, VII (1828-29), 253-254; VI (1827-28), 226. The addition of Horticulture to the name of the *New England Farmer* is an indication of the awakening interest in this aspect of rural life.

One exceptional landowner who left beautiful trees standing when his land was cleared was James Wadsworth, a gentleman farmer of New York. The beauty of some of the Genesee country later was attributed to the love of beauty of this rural-minded man. His biographer attributes this to the fact that he had spent a couple of years in England,

1796-97, and came to love the English countryside. Henry G. Pearson, *James S. Wadsworth*, of Geneseo (New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1913), *passim*.

110. *New Eng. Farmer*, VI (1827-28), 260; X (1831-32), 86.

111. "The Country Farmer," Letter No. XI, reprinted in *Genesee Farmer*, I (1831), 386-387.

112. "Small Houses Preferable to Large Ones," reprinted from *National Aegis*, in *New England Farmer*, IV (1825-26), 45.

113. James M. Garnett, Address to Agricultural Society of Fredericksburg, in *American Farmer*, I (1819-20), 369-371.

114. *New England Farmer*, VI (1827-28), 216, reprinted from *Boston Advertiser*, which credits Waldo [Maine] *Democrat*.

115. *American Farmer*, I (1819-1820), 104.

116. Extract from oration Rev. Alexander McLean, July 4, 1829, in *New England Farmer*, VIII (1829-30), 26, crediting *Springfield Republican*.

117. See address of Rev. Charles Briggs, Oct. 5, 1825, in *N. Eng. Farmer*, IV (1825-26), 204. Frederick Hall's address to Hartford Ag. Soc. in *N. Eng. Farmer*, VI (1827-28), 137-139. Address of Prof. Edward Hitchcock, *ibid.*, 266-267. John F. Howard's Address, *N. Eng. Farmer*, IV, 170.

118. Bidwell and Falconer, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205.

119. Col. George Mason in *Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787*, reprinted by James Madison, ed. by Gaillard Hunt and James B. Scott (New York, Oxford University Press, 1920), 444.

120. *New England Farmer*, X (1831-32), 19, 43, 65. The writer explained that this did not bar helping in time of need, on the footing of equals, or of swapping girls' work for boys' work. Moral considerations as well as the spirit of democracy influenced the point of view. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 1; also "Faux's Journal," in Thwaite's *Early Western Travels*, XI, 216.

121. *New England Farmer*, VIII (1829-30), 26.

122. Faux's Journal from Lexington, 1818-19, in Thwaite, *op. cit.*, XI, 190.

123. David Humphreys, "A Discourse on the Agriculture of the State of Connecticut," in *North American Review*, IV (1816), 99. In Indiana Faux found that farms were deeply mortgaged and people had no money. In Thwaite, *op. cit.*, XI, 300.

124. Bidwell and Falconer, *op. cit.*, chart, p. 191; also p. 206.

125. *New Eng. Farmer*, X (1831-32), 1 from reprint in the last *Christian Examiner*.

126. *Niles Register*, Jan. 22, 1820, pp. 353-355.

127. LeRay Chaumont in *Genesee Farmer*, I (1831), 165.

128. Washington's *Letters to Young and Sinclair*, p. 22.

129. See figures in Bidwell and Falconer, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

130. Rolla M. Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1620-1860* (Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1917), p. 280.

131. Martin Welker, "Farm Life in Central Ohio Sixty Years Ago," in *Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts*, IV (Cleveland, 1895), No. 86, p. 73.

132. See, for example, "History and Report of Agriculture in Ohio" in *Report of Ohio State Board of Agriculture*, XIV (for 1859; pub. 1860), 468-469. "The indispensable article, salt, sold at \$18 per bbl. at ports on Lake Erie, whilst flour was worth \$3 only per bbl." *ibid.*, pp. 450 ff.

133. Jefferson's *Writings*, IV, 288.

134. John Taylor, *Inquiry into the Principles and Policy of the Government of the United States* (Georgetown, J. M. Carter, 1814), 47, 50.

135. *ibid.*, p. 50.

136. Garnett, Address, in *American Farmer*, I (1819-20), 369-371.

137. Henry Colman, Address to Essex County Agricultural Society, Sept. 29, 1831, in *New England Farmer*, X (1831-32), 365.

138. *Genesee Farmer*, II (1832), 7.

139. Letters VIII and IX in *Genesee Farmer*, I (1831), 366, 371.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. *Farmer's Register*, "Prospectus," I (1833-34), 63-64.
2. *ibid.*, p. 62.
3. *Review of the Slave Question*, by a Virginian; second, *A Review of the Debates in the Virginia Legislature*, 1831-32, by Thomas R. Dew, of William and Mary College.
4. *Farmer's Register*, I, 36.
5. *ibid.*, II (1834-35), 24-25, "A Visit to Hofwyl," a reprint.
6. *ibid.*, pp. 76-77.
7. *ibid.*, p. 425.
8. Avery O. Craven, *Edmund Ruffin* (New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1932), pp. 127, 107.
9. *The [Albany] Cultivator*, IV, (n.s. 1847), 24-25.
10. *ibid.*, pp. 24-25.
11. *Cultivator*, II (1835); VI (1839), 129.
12. Skinner's *American Farmer* cost \$4, had more advertising.
13. *Cultivator*, I (1834), 1.
14. Buel, *Farmer's Instructor* (2 Vols., New York, Harper's, 1804), pp. I, 22.
15. *Cultivator*, VI (1839), 97. Cf. Ruffin's *Register*, II (1834-35), 18.
16. *Cultivator*, VI (1839), 1, 16, 35-36, 38, 39, 51, 145.
17. *ibid.*, pp. 50-53, 39.
18. "The Privileged Classes" in *Cultivator*, VI (1839), 51. He apologized for using this title in his next issue, *ibid.*, 91. But in that issue he printed part of William E. Channing's "Self-Culture," including these words: "Mechanics, farmers, laborers! Let the country echo with your united cry, 'The public lands for education.'"
19. Jesse Buel, *The Farmer's Companion* (6th ed., New York, Harper & Bros., 1847), pp. 272-273.

20. *Farmer's Instructor*, I, 14.
21. *Cultivator*, VI (1839), 16.
22. *ibid.*, p. 2.
23. *ibid.*, p. 81.
24. *Cultivator*, IV (1837), 28.
25. *Farmer's Companion*, p. 262 ff.
26. True, *Hist. of Ag. Education*, p. 29.
27. *Southern Cultivator* (Augusta, Ga.), V (1847), frontispiece.
28. See [Nashville] *Agriculturist*, II (1841), 61; *Southwestern Farmer* (Raymond, Miss.), 1842-44; John L. Blake's *The Farm and Fireside* (Auburn and Buffalo, 1852), frontispiece.
29. Amos Dean, "Eulogy" in *Cultivator* VII (1840), 43-45.
30. *Cyclopedia of Agriculture*, Bailey, ed., IV, 564.
31. [Nashville] *Agriculturist*, II (1841), 73; New York Ag. Soc. *Trans.* VI (1846), 465, 470, 476. *Southern Planter* (Natchez, Miss.), VIII (1847), 15.
32. Henry Colman, *European Agriculture and Rural Economy*, published separately (London and Boston, 1844-48), and bound together (6th ed., Boston, Phillips, Samson & Co., 1857). See p. ix, also pp. 384 ff, 370 ff.
33. *ibid.*, pp. 7-9.
34. *ibid.*, "Preliminary Observations," 9 & 10, pp. xiii-xiv.
35. Colman, *European Agriculture*, I, 256.
36. *ibid.*, preface to "Reports" 9-10, pp. xiii-xiv.
37. *ibid.*, p. 31.
38. *ibid.*, p. 250.
39. *ibid.*, preface to "Reports" 9-10, p. xix.
40. *ibid.*, p. xviii.
41. *ibid.*, pp. 252-256.
42. See *Horticulturist* editorials for April, 1849 and for Sept., 1850, reprinted in Andrew J. Downing, *Rural Essays*, with "Memoir" by George Wm. Curtis, editor, (New York, Geo. P. Putnam & Co., 1853), 48-50, 55. Also, *Sou. Cultivator*, I (1843), 21; *O. State Journal*, Aug. 11, 1852, p. 2, col. 4.

43. *Wisconsin Farmer*, IX (1857), 72; "Aristander" in *Sou. Cult.*, XI (1853), 208; "H.C.W." in *Cult.* (n.s., 850), 354-355; "S.L.B." in *Coun. Gentleman*, XI (Jan.-June, 1858), 386-387; Dolphus Skinner in *N.Y. State Ag. Soc. Transactions*, XIII (1853; pub. 1854), 447.

44. True, *Hist. of Ag. Ed.*, p. 36.

45. Address printed in [Nashville] *Agriculturist*, II (1841), 80-81. That other Southerners opposed such ideals is indicated by the fact that Fannin criticized Lindley later for his failure to persuade his trustees to carry through his plan for introducing "Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts" into the college. *ibid.*, p. 130.

46. "Popular Education," *ibid.*, p. 75.

47. *ibid.*, p. 76.

48. *ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

49. See below, pp. 129-130.

50. [Nashville] *Agric.*, II (1841), 80.

51. *ibid.*, IV (1843), 18-19.

52. *Ibid.*, II (1841), 68, 75; VI (1845), 166, 173-174; III (1842), 277-278.

53. W. W. Claxton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee*, 452. The latest issue of his paper seen by the writer was dated 1845, and the Union List of Serials gives the dates of the [Nashville] *Agriculturist* as "1840-45?" Fannin planned to take over the paper and publish it from Franklin College. Evidence that he did so was not found.

54. *Southern Cultivator*, III (1845), 41.

55. *ibid.*, pp. 136, 153, 168.

56. Solon Robinson, *Pioneer and Agriculturist*, selected writings, edited by Herbert A. Kellar (2 Vols., Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Bureau, 1936), II, 477. Robinson was mistaken, however, in speaking of Camak as the founder of the paper. The account in the *Prairie Farmer*, VII (1847), 261, spoke of Camak as being also a professor at Franklin College.

Quotes from this source by permission of the publishers.

57. *ibid.*, II, 477.

58. *Southern Cult.*, V (1847), 104.

59. *Western Farmer*, II (1841), 185, 231, 126 (*Gardener* was dropped).
60. *Dict. of Am. Biog.*
61. *Solon Robinson*, II, 139.
62. *Prairie Farmer*, V (1845), 114-115.
63. *Dict. of Am. Biog.*
64. *Solon Robinson*, II, 128.
65. *Southern Cultivator*, VI (1848), 28, 41, 45, 61, 69; V (1847), 45, 88, 90, 104, 109, 121, 123, 138, 141, 153, 158, 170, 184, 189.
66. *ibid.*, p. 45.
67. *ibid.*, IV (1846), 127.
68. *ibid.*, I, 27. From April 1 on, the workday for his slaves, he said, was from 5 to 11 A.M., rest 11 to 2 P.M., and work from 2 to 7:15 P.M.—which appears very enlightened as viewed against the working-day for women and girls in the textile mills of Puritan New England. By way of contrast, Phillips mentioned that slaves of another planter did not take the horses from the plow from daylight till dark, and cooked for themselves while their master slept.
69. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*
70. *Prairie Farmer*, V (1845), 114-115.
71. Address to Agric. Soc. of New Castle Co., Del., in [Nashville] *Agriculturist*, III (1842), 273.
72. *ibid.*, p. 277.
73. Biographical sketch in *Cyclop. of Ag.*, Bailey, ed., IV, 599-600.
74. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*
75. N.Y. Ag. Soc. *Trans* XII (1853; pub. 1854), 535, 556-563; 634-635.
76. *Solon Robinson*, II, 489-490 (ed. by H. A. Kellar).
77. His letter to *Farmers' Cabinet*, VI (1842), 178, mentions the "cordial spirit" in which he was received throughout his journey.
78. *Solon Robinson*, II, 141, 144, 150, 201, 213, 240-245, 479, 494.
79. See above, pp. 42-43.

80. Bidwell and Falconer, *Hist. of Ag. in Northern U.S.*, pp. 189, 317.

81. S.C. Ag. Soc. *Proceedings*, p. 5.

82. N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, VI (1846; pub. 1847), 31.

83. *Am Agriculturist*, I (1843), 158, 190, 223.

84. U.S. Congress, House, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Patents for 1838, *Committee Reports*, No. 655, 25th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Washington, Thomas Allen [c. 1839]), pp. 7-10.

85. Bidwell and Falconer, *Hist. of Ag.*, p. 31; quoting Pat. Office *An. Report* (1857); *Agriculture*, p. 24.

86. *Solon Robinson*, I, 89-90.

87. J. B. Nott, N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, I (1841), 31.

88. Solon Robinson, "American Society of Agriculture," in *Cultivator*, VIII (1841), 86.

89. *Cult.*, VIII (1841), 86, 169; *Western Farmer*, II (1841), 126.

90. *Niles Register* (Dec. 11, 1841), 226.

91. *Niles Register* (Jan. 1, 1842), p. 273; *Cult.*, IX (1842), 13. Robinson was kept from attending the meeting by sickness. *Cult.* IX (1842), 35.

92. *Cult.*, IX (1842), 13; president's address, 102; constitution, 31.

93. For Robinson's enthusiasm and hopes, see *Cult.*, IX (1842), 35.

94. Art. XVII of the constitution stated that a suitable person should be invited to establish a publication at Washington. *ibid.*, p. 31.

95. G.P.T. "National Agricultural Society," in *Amer. Agriculturist*, I (April, 1842-March, 1843), 83-84.

96. *Southern Cult.*, III (1845), 56-57, refers to a meeting of the society Jan. 10, 1845, in Washington, at which plans of the N.Y. State Society for promoting agriculture through common schools was adopted.

Organizations, like individuals, seldom leave records of their own passing.

97. State Bd. of Ag. *Report* IV (for 1849; pub. 1850), 5; VI (for 1851; pub. 1852), 207-208. N.Y. *Tribune* (May 8, 1852), p. 4, col. 5, quotes Eben Newton as saying New York had from 70 to 90 county societies.

98. Eli H. Baxter, address in *So. Cult.*, II (1844), 18-19.

99. *Gen. Farmer*, IV (1834), 95; VI (2nd series, 1846), 58.

100. *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (June-Nov., 1889), p. 558.

101. *Solon Robinson*, I, 202, 312; O. State Bd. of Ag. *Report*, VII (1852; pub. 1853), 205.

102. *Western Agric.*, I (1851), 338.

103. O. State Bd. of Ag. *Report*, VII (for 1852; pub. 1853), 170-171.

104. Phila. Ag. Soc. *Memoirs*, I (1808), xxiv; IV, xlviii.

105. Daniel Adams in *New Eng. Farmer*, V, (1826-27), 233.

106. *N. Eng. Farmer*, VII (1828-29), 17, 25.

107. *Genesee Farmer*, IV (1834), 342; II (1832), 330; *Western Farmer*, IV (1844), 217.

108. *Genesee Farmer*, IV (1834), 342.

109. Theodore C. Peters, in N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, I (for 1841; pub. 1842), 167.

110. *So. Cult.*, III (1845), 157.

111. N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, VI (for 1846; pub. 1847), 9, 575, 583, 651, 675, 755. O. State Bd. of Ag. *Reports*, I (1846; pub. 1847), 25, 45, 47, 57, 69.

112. N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, VI (for 1846; pub. 1847), 575.

113. O. State Bd. of Ag. *Report*, I (1846; pub. 1847), 48-49.

114. W. Bacon, in *N. Eng. Farmer*, IV (n.s., 1852), 28-29.

115. John Delafield, N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, VII (for 1847; pub. 1848), 749-750; D.W.J., *N. Eng. Farmer*, II (n.s., 1850), 268-9; Wm. Turner, Wayne Co. Ag. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1850, p. 11.

116. U.S. Congress, H.R., "Agriculture," House Com. Reports, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 762 (Washington, Wendell & Benthuysen, n.d.), p. 90.

117. Speech of Eben Newton in House of Rep., as reported in *New York Daily Tribune* (May 8, 1852), p. 4, col. 5.

118. *Horticulturist*, VI (1851-52), 394.

119. Downing, *Rural Essays*, p. 410.

120. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Annual Report* of the Commissioner of Patents, for 1845, Sen. Doc., 29th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 307, p. 378.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. George Wm. Curtis, "Memoir" in preface to Downing, *Rural Essays*, pp. xv-xvi.

2. Marshall P. Wilder's eulogy on Downing in *Horticulturist*, VII (1852), 493. *Rural Essays*, pp. 192-202, describes a visit to one of these estates, "A Visit to Montgomery Place."

3. Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. xviii.

4. Frederika Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, trans. by Mary Howitt (2 Vols., New York, Harper Brothers, 1854), I, 17.

5. *ibid.*, 17, 19, 20.

6. Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

7. Downing, *Cottage Residences* (4th ed., New York, J. Wiley, 1854).

8. Andrew J. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York, Appleton & Co., 1850 copyright; third printing, 1853).

9. Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. xvii. All the designs and much of the work were completed, Curtis says, before Downing's death, or a little over a year after he'd received the commission.

10. Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, I, 46.

11. *Genesee Farmer*, V (1835), 264. *Farmers' Cabinet*, I (1836), 57. "Things I Like to See," *Ibid.*, II (1837), 315.

- "Rural Taste," *Gen. Farmer*, V (1835), 320. Also see above, pp. 55-56.
12. *Farmers' Cabinet*, I (1836), 55; *Cult.*, IX (1842), 66.
 13. J.R.B., in *Cult.*, VII (1840), 99.
 14. *Rural Essays*, p. 206.
 15. This work went through thirteen editions between 1845 and 1852 according to *Dict. of Am. Biog.*
 16. Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, I, 45.
 17. Editorial in *Hort.*, (1846-47), 13-14. For contrast, see letter of Thomas Allen in *ibid.*, p. 110, or Micah Sterling, *Cult.*, VIII (1841), 168-70.
 18. Downing, *Rural Essays*, pp. 4-5.
 19. Downing, *Treatise on . . . Landscape Gardening*, p. ix.
 20. Downing, *Cottage Residences*, p. vii.
 21. Downing, *Rural Essays*, pp. 13-14.
 22. *ibid.*, pp. 206, 208.
 23. *ibid.*, pp. 212-213.
 24. *ibid.*, p. 246.
 25. *ibid.*, p. 220.
 26. *ibid.*, pp. 224-225.
 27. *ibid.*, pp. 225-226.
 28. *ibid.*, pp. 224-228.
 29. *ibid.*, pp. 265-270.
 30. *ibid.*, p. 264.
 31. *ibid.*, p. 269.
 32. *ibid.*, p. 269.
 33. *ibid.*, p. 14.
 34. *ibid.*, pp. 396-397. As evidence of Downing's interest in health, see his editorial in the *Horticulturist* for November, 1850, "The Favorite Poison in America," in *Rural Essays*, pp. 278-286.
 35. *Rural Essays*, pp. 404-409.
 36. *ibid.*, p. 392.
 37. *ibid.*, pp. 410-415.
 38. *ibid.*, p. 389.
 39. *ibid.*, pp. 236-243.

40. *ibid.*, p. 238.
41. Bailey, *Country Life Movement*, p. 5.
42. Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. liii-liv.
43. New York *Tribune* (July 31, 1852), p. 4, col. 5.
44. In "Eulogy on Mr. Downing," in *Hort.*, VII (1852), 493.
45. *Hort.*, VII (1852), 537-538.
46. *Am. Agriculturist*, III (1843), 98; II (1842), 61; John Kennicott, "Rough Notes from the West," in *Hort.*, IV (1849-50), 441, 544.
47. See *Cult.*, IX (1842), 144; V (n.s., 1848), 9; *S. Cult.*, VI (1848), 139, 141-142.
48. Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. xxvi-xxviii.
49. *ibid.*, pp. xxvi-xxviii.
50. *Dict. Am. Biog.* The U.S. Bureau of Agriculture *Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1855-1856, states that up to 1853, the sale of Downing's works in America had been as follows:

<i>Landscape Gardening</i>	9,000 copies
<i>Cottage Residences</i>	6,250 "
<i>Fruit and Fruit Trees of America</i>	15,000 "
<i>Architecture of Country Houses</i>	3,500 "
51. *The Horticulturist*, IX (1855-56), 395, says that magazine had "chronicled the formation, if we mistake not, of all the horticultural societies west of the mountains." The word "horticulture" crept into the title or statement of purpose of half a dozen farm periodicals, e.g., *The Farmer's Companion and Horticultural Gazette* (Detroit, 1852).
52. C. W. Elliott, *Cottage Residences and Cottage Life* (Cincinnati, H. W. Derby & Co., 1848); Lewis P. Allen, *Rural Architecture* (New York, 1852); Gervase Wheeler, *Rural Homes* (New York, C. Scribner, 1851).
53. B. Munn, "Of What Use Is Rural Taste?" *Hort.*, VII (1852), 540. Editorial in *Hort.*, X (1855), 9.
- "The Safeguard of Youth," *Western Agriculturist*, I (1850), 49.
- "The Farmer's Home," *Ohio Valley Farmer*, I (1856), 9.

"When Farmers Are Men of Taste," *Ladies Repository*, XVII (1857), 222-3.

"Moral Influence of Horticulture," Wis. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, III (1853), 240.

"Embellishments of a Country Home," Ill. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, II (1856-57), 385 ff; also see 397.

For other speeches and essays on rural taste and the influence of beauty around the home, see *N. Eng. Farmer* (n.s., 1859), XI, 327; Wis. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.* II (1852), 26; O. State Bd., of *Ag. Report*, X (for 1855; pub. 1856), 293-294; VII (for 1852; pub. 1853), 401; XI (for 1856; pub. 1857), 151. N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, XV (for 1855; pub. 1856), 36; XIII (for 1853; pub. 1854), 457; Tenn. State Ag. Bureau Biennial *Report* (for 1854-1855; pub. 1856), 253 ff.

For echoes regarding schoolgrounds, see John A. Kennicott, Address at Ohio State Fair, in O. State Bd. of *Ag. Report*, X (for 1855; pub. 1856), 116; also *Prairie Farmer*, VII (1847), 78.

54. *Report of the Commission on Country Life*, pp. 138-139; quoted above, p. 10.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 6

1. John A. Porter, "Agricultural Education," *New Englander*, XVII (1859), 1059.

2. James F. W. Johnston, *Notes on North America, Agricultural, Commercial, and Social* (2 Vols., Boston, C. Little & J. Brown, 1851), I, 172-173.

3. D. J. Powers, "Wisconsin Farming," in Wis. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, III (1853), 126.

4. "Smyrna, Md." in [Albany] *Cultivator*, VI (1839), 44.

5. [Nashville] *Agriculturist*, II (1841), 26, gives account of Ruffin's *Register* for Dec., 1841, "wholly given up" to Arator's essays.

6. In *So. Cult.*, I (1843), 108-109, reprinted from *Columbian Planter*.
7. In *So. Cult.*, I (1843), 100.
8. *So. Cult.*, II (1844), 9-11.
9. [Nashville] *Agriculturist*, II (1841), 51.
10. *Solon Robinson*, II, 150.
11. Reprint in *N. Carolina Farmer*, V (1849), 282, attributed to *Southern Miscellany*.
12. *So. Cult.*, II (1844), 97. Though monoculture was criticized, no mention was made of soil erosion and the need of cover crops in winter.
13. John A. Calhoun, Address to Barbour County [Alabama] Agricultural Society, in *So. Cult.*, V (1847), 76-77.
14. Ford's *George Washington*, XIII, 407.
15. Statistical View of the United States, Embracing Territory, Population, etc., being a *Compendium of the Seventh Census*, by J.D.B. DeBow, Supt. of the U.S. Census (Washington, Beverly Tucker, Senate Printer, 1854): 157-158.
16. *So. Cult.*, II (1844), 97. Cf. "C.C.C.," in [Nashville] *Agric.*, IV (1843), 108.
17. *So. Cult.*, VI (1848), 90.
18. Edward A. Ross, *The Old World in the New* (New York, The Century Co., 1914), p. 53. Cf. F. A. Michaux, *Travels to the West of the Allegheny Mountains* (London, D. Shury, for B. Crosby & Co., 1805), p. 27.
19. *So. Cult.*, I (1843), 119; Craven, *Soil Exhaustion*, 124-125, 160-161.
20. *So. Cult.*, II (1844), 62, reprint of letter to Willis Gaylord in [Albany] *Cultivator*.
21. *Solon Robinson*, I, 472-473.
22. *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
23. *ibid.*, II, 240-245.
24. *ibid.*, II, 240-245.
25. *ibid.*, II, 147.
26. *ibid.*, II, 150-151.
27. Johnston, *Notes on North America*, I, 173-174; 258-259.

28. Silas Wright, Address, in N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, VII (1847), 19-20.
29. *Cult.*, IX (1842), 159.
30. *Cult.*, VII (n.s., 1850), 397-399.
31. Quoted by "A Farmer" in *Cult.*, VII (n.s., 1850), 56.
32. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. by Henry Reeve (Rev. ed., New York, The Colonial Press, 1899), p. 68.
33. *So. Cult.*, III (1845), 26.
34. [Nashville] *Agriculturist*, VI (1845), 140. *So. Cult.*, IV (1846), 42. Since this was a "commercial" convention, interest was lacking.
35. [Nashville] *Agric.*, IV (1843), 31, carried reprint of article by "Col. Zollicoffer" in the *Nashville Banner*.
36. See Judge A. Beatty's Kentucky Agricultural Society premium essay in [Nashville] *Agriculturist*, IV (1843), 62-63; 67-69; also editorial by Fannin, "Mechanical Arts," *ibid.*, p. 77. *ibid.*, VI (1845), 140, carried a report of Memphis Convention.
37. *Solon Robinson*, I, 472-473.
38. See above, pp. 35-37.
39. *Plough, Loom, and Anvil*, II (1849-50), 175-6, crediting "The Union."
40. Jesse Buel, "Address" in John L. Blake's *Modern Farmer* (Auburn, Derby and Miller, 1853), pp. 414-415.
41. H. T. Tuckerman, *America and Her Commentators* (New York, C. Scribner, 1864), 308, 331; Sir Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America* (2 Vols., New York, Harper & Brothers, 1849), I, 84. Also, see above, pp. 61-62.
42. Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (2 Vols., New York, The Macmillan Co., 1930), I, 141-142.
43. *Parley's Magazine*, IV (1836), 311.
44. Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*, III, 6.
45. George E. Russell, "Industry and the Yankee Nation," address to Rhode Island Horticultural Society, at

Providence, September 17, 1852, in Blake's *Modern Farmer*, p. 448.

46. Orrin Densmore, "Money the Root of All Evil," in *History of Rock County [Wis.]*, and *Transactions of the Rock County Agricultural Society and Mechanical Institute*, ed. by Orrin Guernsey and Josiah P. Willard (Janesville, Wm. E. Doty and Brothers, printers, 1856), pp. 225-227.

47. Joseph Addison, *The Spectator* (3 Vols., London, George Routledge & Sons, 1883), I, 152.

48. Colman, *European Agric.*, I, 36.

49. Colman, *European Agric.*, preface to "Reports" 9-10, p. xviii.

50. Quoted in Buel, *Farmer's Companion*, p. 18.

51. Frederick L. Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* with remarks on their economy (New York, Dix and Edwards, 1856), pp. 599-600.

52. *Genesee Farmer*, V (1835), 264.

53. Carl A. Wittke, *We Who Built America* (New York, Prentice Hall, Inc. 1940), p. 83.

54. Colman, *Eur. Agric.*, I, 289.

55. [Albany] *Cult.*, IV (1837), 188.

56. *Farmer's Companion*, p. 262.

57. *Farmer's Register*, II (1834), 425.

58. *Eur. Agric.*, preface to "Reports" 9-10, p. xiv.

59. *Rural Essays*, p. 225; pp. 212-213.

60. [Albany] *Cult.*, VII (1840), 21.

61. *Western Agriculturist*, I (1851), 40.

62. In Blake *Modern Farmer*, p. 448.

63. *Horticulturist*, VII (1852), 298. Cf. Samuel Osgood, "The Drift of American Society," in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, XXVI (1863), 815.

64. Editorial, [Cincinnati] *Journal and Messenger* (Aug. 28, 1857), p. 138.

65. *Country Gentleman*, XII (July-Dec., 1858), 99.

66. "Persevering Labor and Wealth," in Blake *Modern Farmer*, p. 184.

67. In *History of Rock County*, etc., pp. 225-227.

68. S. A. Hudson, "Essay," in *ibid.*, pp. 236-257.
69. "Pyrus" in *Gen. Farmer*, VIII (1838), 13; John Lewis, Llangollen, Ky., in *Western Farmer*, V (1845), 153.
70. Editorial in *N. C. Farmer*, V (1849), 286-287. E. Estabrook in *Wis. State Ag. Soc. Trans.*, I (1851), 230. Lyell, *Travels in U.S.*, I, 59.
71. Johnston, *Notes on N. America*, I 162. *Cult.*, VII (n.s., 1850), 71.
72. Ingraham in *Wis. Ag. Soc. Trans.*, IV (1854-57), 105.
73. In *S.C. Ag. Soc. Proceedings* (for 1839-1845); pub. 1846), p. 108.
74. See Johnston, *Notes on N.A.*, II, 244-247; Martineau, *Society in Am.* II, 100; editorial, *Genesee Farmer*, VI (1838), 151.
75. Johnston, *Notes on N.A.*, I, 206-207.
76. James Caird, *Prairie Farming in America* (London, Longmans, Brown, Green, etc., 1859), pp. 51, 97. *Wis. Farmer*, II (1848), 66-67.
77. E. Estabrook, "Agriculture of Walworth County," in *Wis. State Ag. Soc. Trans.*, I (1851), 230.
78. *Solon Robinson*, II, 104-106, gives amount exempted in each state.
79. Johnston, *Notes on N.A.*, I, 163.
80. Quoted by Downing in *Rural Essays*, pp. 14-15.
81. Johnston, *op. cit.*, I, 162.
82. *N.Y. Ag. Soc. Trans.*, VII (1847), 721.
83. Evans, *op. cit.*, 146-147.
84. *Farmer's Cabinet*, I (1836), 83.
85. Evans, *op. cit.*, 119-120. Cf. *Mother's Magazine*, III (1844), 245.
86. *Farmer's Cabinet*, I (1836), 83. Cf. Sedgwick, *Public and Private Economy*, I, 109.
87. Margaret Lefever, "Story of Early Life in Michigan," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. 38 (1912), 272-277.
88. Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New

York, J. B. Ford & Co., 1872), p. 78. Greeley's father lived to be 86. Also *ibid.*, 426.

89. O. J. Felton, "Pioneer Life in Jones County, Iowa," in *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXIX (1931), 236-250.

90. *Prairie Farmer*, VII (1847), 315.

91. *Country Gent.*, XII (July-Dec., 1858), 162.

92. *National Magazine*, III (1853), 510.

93. *Mother's Magazine*, XII (1844), 244-245.

94. U.S. Census Office, Sixth Census, 1840, *Compendium* (Washington, Blair & Rives, 1841), pp. 128-129.

95. Lefever, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 272. Greeley, *Recollections*, pp. 79-80.

96. See Allen Eaton, *Handicrafts of the Southern Mountains* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1937), p. 26.

97. *Family Magazine*, III (1838), 67.

98. *Ladies Repository*, I (1841), 10. Cf. "To Farmers' Daughters," in [Nashville] *Agric.*, IV (1843), 59. Also, *ibid.*, pp. 73-74; V (1844), 100, 134-5.

99. Downing, *Rural Essays*, p. 545.

100. In *Rural Essays*, pp. 544-546.

101. *ibid.*, p. 51.

102. *West. Agric.*, I (1851), 247.

103. Dr. John Watkins, in *So. Cult.*, IV (1846), 159.

104. [Albany] *Cult.*, III (1836), 7. Cf. *ibid.*, IX (1842), 102-103.

105. H.C.W., in [Albany] *Cult.*, VII (n.s., 1850), 35.

106. Johnston, *Notes on N.A.*, II, 471.

107. In Blake's *Modern Farmer*, pp. 182-183.

108. Jefferson's *Writings*, XVII, 91.

109. [Albany] *Cultivator*, III (1836), 7. Cf. *Prairie Farmer*, V (1845), 195.

110. "A Friend of Coke's," in *Sou. Cult.*, VI (1848), 26-27.

111. DeBow's *Commercial Review*, VII (July-Dec., 1849), 230-231. Cf. Hon. Wm. J. Grayson, in *ibid.*, III (Jan.-June, 1847), 93.

112. Sedgwick, quoted in *Family Magazine*, III (1838), 320.
 113. Sedgwick, *Public and Private Economy*, I, 183.
 114. J. H. Fairchild, in *Oberlin Quarterly Review*, II (1846), 67.
 115. Ralph W. Emerson, "Man the Reformer," in *The Harvard Classics*, ed. by Chas. W. Eliot (New York, P. F. Collier, c. 1909-10), V, 52.
 116. William E. Channing, "On the Education of the Laboring Classes," in *The Harvard Classics*, XXVIII, 328-329.
 117. Wm. H. Seward, Address in Blake's *Modern Farmer*, p. 431.
 118. "Learning and Labor," in *Oberlin Quar. Review*, II (1846), 61.
 119. Address to N.Y. State Ag. Society, in *West Agric.*, I (1851), 331.
 120. Hon. David Henshaw, Address to Worcester Co. Ag. Soc., in Mass. Agric. Soc. *Trans.* (for 1847; pub. 1848), pp. 223-224.
 121. Colman, *European Agric.*, I, 141.
 122. N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, VII (1847), 14-15.
 123. Report of Plowing Committee of Washington Co. Ag. Society, in N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, VII (1847), 137.
 124. In Ohio State Bd. of Ag. *Report*, VI (for 1851; pub. 1852), 412-416.
 125. See "Farmer's Song," signed "A.W." in [Albany] *Cultivator*, VIII (1841), 86. Cf. VII (n.s., 1850), 86.
- There was also an occasional article stating that rural life was not what the poets described it as being. See Edward Wilbur, in *Cultivator*, VII (1840), 17.
126. Poem by David L. Roath, in *Cultivator*, IV (n.s., 1847), 324. It was sent in by H. B. Tuttle, of Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, on the Ohio canal.
 127. W. L. Eaton, in [Albany] *Cultivator*, VIII (n.s., 1850), 143.
 128. T. G. Fessenden, in *Farmer's Cabinet*, I (1836), 43.

129. See above, pp. 50-51.
130. H. W. Beecher, "True Value of a Farm," in *Ohio Valley Farmer*, I (1856), 4. Cf. Horace Greeley, *ibid.*, 78.
131. C.L.D., "Random Thoughts on Rural Life," *Hort.*, V (1850), 109.
132. *Ohio Cultivator*, XIII (1857), 121.
133. *Farmer's Cabinet*, I (1836), 163.
134. See below, note 8, p. 220.
135. "Peter Progress," in *So. Cult.*, VI (1848), 73.
136. *Gen. Farmer*, XI (n.s., 1850), 63.
137. Hartlib, *Legacie*, 149.
138. *Farmer's Cabinet*, I (1836), 95.
139. *ibid.*, p. 96.
140. *ibid.*, p. 143.
141. *ibid.*, pp. 225-226.
142. *Genesee Farmer*, XI (n.s., 1850), 155.
143. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
144. *D.A.B.*, Richard L. Allen, A. B. Allen.
145. *Cult.*, VI (1839); also, True, *Hist of Ag. Ed. in U.S.*, p. 29.
146. *D.A.B.*, Orange Judd
147. *Am. Farmer*, I (1819-1820), 416.
148. *ibid.*, III (1821-1822), 168.
149. Horace Greeley, in *Recollections*, p. 296, states he did that.
150. [Albany] *Cult.*, VII (n.s., 1851), 385.
151. U.S. Patent Office *Report* for 1849 (pub. 1850), p. 12.
152. Johnston, *Notes on N.A.*, I, 132. Cf. H. Baldwin, address at N.Y. State Fair, in (Albany) *Cult.*, VIII (1841), 171.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. See above, pp. 31-33, 53-55.
2. D. A. Ogden, in [Albany] *Cult.*, IV (n.s., 1847), 334.

3. J. F. Willard, "Education of Farmers," *Hist of Rock Co.*, etc., pp. 229-230.
4. Captain Barclay, *Agricultural Tour in the United States and Canada* (Edinburgh and London, William Blackwood & Sons, 1842), pp. 156-157.
5. In *Farmer's Cabinet*, IX (1844), 126.
6. Levi Bartlett, in (Albany) *Cult.*, VII (n.s., 1850), 100.
7. *ibid.*, p. 262.
8. H.C.W., of Putnam Valley, N.Y., in *ibid.*, p. 35.
9. *West Agric.*, I (1851), 233, reprint attributed to the editors of the *Genesee Farmer*.
10. John L. Blake, in *Farm and Fireside*, p. 13.
11. "Address given at Grenada, Miss., by A. C. Blaine, Esq.," in [Albany] *Cult.*, IX (1842), 106.
12. *Rural Essays*, p. 307.
13. "The Education of Young Farmers," in *West. Agric.*, I (1851), 39-40.
14. In Blake, *Modern Farmer*, p. 416-417.
15. *Country Gent.*, XV (Jan.-June, 1860), 105.
16. *Amer. Agriculturist*, II (1844), 2-3.
17. Emmet, in *Am. Agric.*, II (1844), 114-116.
18. *Cult.*, I (n.s., 1844), 210.
19. O. State Bd. of Ag. *Report*, IV (for 1849; pub. 1850), 21.
20. True, *Hist. of Agric. Ed.*, p. 28.
21. See Bailey, *Cyclop. of Agric.*, IV, 383-385. True, *op cit.*, p. 31.
22. *Monthly Journal of Ag.*, II (1846), 260-262.
23. In *S. Cult.*, I (1843), 132, a reprint from *Louisville Journal* giving part of T. H. Barron's report to Pa. Legislature, urging its adoption.
24. [Nashville] *Agric.*, V (1844), 30-32, reprint from *Louisville Journal*.
25. Extract from address before the Ag. Soc. of Essex Co., Mass., in 1851, U.S. Congress, Senate, quoted in Sen. Doc. No., 118, 32nd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 32.

26. A. C. True, *Hist. of Ag. Ed.*, p. 37, quotes purpose and also from the *Report* of 1833.

27. *ibid.*, p. 38, quotes from the prospectus. Italics are added.

28. S. W. in *Genesee Farmer*, VI (1845-46), p. 67.

29. J.F.S., in *ibid.*, p. 89.

30. "Scientific and Practical Agricultural Institute" in N.Y. State Ag. Soc., *Trans.*, VI (for 1846; pub. 1847), 599.

31. [Nashville] *Agric.*, II (1841), 79.

32. *ibid.*, V (1844), 173.

33. "Tennessee" in *ibid.*, VI (1845), 154.

34. *ibid.*, V (1844), 173.

35. *ibid.*, 173.

36. "Tennessee" in *ibid.*, VI (1845), 154.

37. Letter to *Southwestern Farmer*, reprinted in *Agric.*, VI (1845), 113.

38. W. W. Claxton, ed., *History of Davidson County, Tennessee* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1880), p. 452. Claxton states that Franklin College was reopened in 1865 after the war but that just after reopening the family dwelling burned, following which Fannin purchased Minerva College and with Mrs. Fannin opened Hope Institute for young ladies.

39. *Cincinnatus*, III (1858), 83.

40. True, *Hist. of Ag. Ed.*, p. 44.

41. *Ohio State Journal*, June 5, 1852.

42. *Cincinnatus*, II (1858), 83.

43. See N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, VII (1847), 631-632; also *So. Planter*, VII (1847), 29; III (1845), 74; *So. Cult.*, V (1847), 71.

44. S. C. Ag. Conven. and State Ag. Soc., *Proceedings*, 1839-45, p. 13. See *Niles Register*, Dec. 27, 1839, p. 288, for Kentucky project. N.Y. *Weekly Tribune*, June 11, 1842, p. 6, "Glances at Michigan"; David A. Wells, *Yearbook of Agriculture*, for 1855-56 (New York, C. M. Sexton Co., 1857), pp. 8-9, for efforts in Ohio; [Nashville] *Agric.*, VI

(1845), 84-85; Ill. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, I (1853-54; pub. 1855), 5.

45. *Farmer's Companion & Hort. Gazette*, III (1854), 124, quoting Ind. State Bd. of Ag., 2nd Annual Report.

46. [Albany] *Cult.*, VII (n.s., 1849-50), 324.

47. *ibid.*, 324; N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, VI (for 1846; pub. 1847), 47.

48. James Johnston in [Albany] *Cult.*, VII (n.s., 1850), 76; True, *Hist. of Ag. Ed.* 63-65; DeBow's *Review*, VII (1849), 378 ff.

49. Mass. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.* for 1848 (pub. 1849), 263.

50. *Gen. Farmer*, VII (1837), 159, reprint from N.Y. *Farmer. Hort.*, II (1847-48), 269. *Monthly Jour. of Ag.*, II (1846-47), 260-262; Mass. Ag. Soc. *Trans.* for 1847 (pub. 1848), 125. U.S. Pat. Office Report for 1857 (pub. 1858), p. 25, gives resume of situation in New York, 1838-57.

51. Wis. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, I (1851), 298-299.

52. N.Y. Stage Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, XIII (for 1853; pub. 1854), 530; VI, xxiii.

53. *Gen. Farmer*, VI (1845-46), 178, reprinted from *Courtland Democrat*. New York City had tried to get it earlier, N.Y. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, XIII, 530.

54. *Am. Agric.*, V (1846-47), 284-285. Cf. Coun. Gent., XV (Jan.-June, 1860), 13, "Acer."

55. U.S. Pat. Of. Report for 1852, p. 14; *Hort.*, II (1847-8), 269, editorial.

56. Pat. Of. Report for 1857, p. 25, gives account of New York fight. Cf. *ibid.* for 1849, pp. 6-7; *Monthly Jour. of Ag.*, II (1846-47), 260-2; John P. Norton, in *Cult.*, VII (n.s., 1850), 29; M. P. Wilder, *Address*, pp. 31-32.

57. *Cult.*, VII (1840), 79.

58. True, *Hist. of Ag. Ed.*, p. 43, quotes extract from the will. Italics are added here.

59. *Cult.*, VII (1840), 79.

60. See Percival M. Cole, *History of Educational*

Thought (London, Oxford University Press, 1931), pp. 15-16.

61. *New York Weekly Tribune*, April 16, 1842, p. 2, col. 5.

62. *West. Agric.*, I (1851), 194, extract from O. St. Bd. of Ag. 5th An. Report.

63. Colman, *Eur. Ag.*, I, 220; Downing, *Rural Essays*, 397; N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, VI (for 1846), 38-39; [Nashville] *Agric.*, IV (1843), 50.

64. *Prairie Farmer*, VIII (1847), 266; N.Y. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, VI, 37.

65. See above, pp. 54-55, 74.

66. From 4½ page extract of address by B. F. Stanton, in *Farmer's Register*, IV (1836), 274, reprinted from *Southern Literary Messenger*.

67. *Pestalozzi, His Life, Work and Influence*, by Herman Krusi (New York, American Book Co., 1903), p. 21.

68. [Nashville] *Agric.*, II (1841), 79-80. Cf. Samuel Luckey's plan in N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, VII (1847), 478.

69. Colman, *Eur. Ag.*, I, 246-247.

70. Krusi, *Pestalozzi*, etc., pp. 138-144.

71. *ibid.*, p. 152.

72. Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Minor Educational Writings* of Jean Jacques Rousseau; selected and trans. by William Boyd (London, Blackie & Son, Limited, 1910), pp. 22-23.

73. *ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

74. Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Emile, or Education*, tr. Barbara Foxley (London and Toronto, J. M. Dert & Sons, 1911; 1930 printing), p. 444.

75. *So. Cult.*, III (1845), 74.

76. *ibid.*, V (1847), 71.

77. See Mass. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, for 1847 (pub. 1848), 265.

78. *Western Journal of Agriculture, Manufacturing, Mechanic Arts, Internal Improvements, Commerce, and General Literature*, St. Louis, I (1848), 255. "An extract from a letter

dated Dec. 8, 1845, written by Evans Casselberry, Esq. . . ." to a member of a Missouri convention to draw up a new constitution; letter copied from *Jefferson Inquirer*.

79. George B. Emerson and Charles L. Flint, *Manual of Agriculture* for the school, the farm, and the fireside (Boston, Swan, Brewer and Tileston, 1860), p. iv. Italics added.

80. Wilder, *Address* at Dedham, p. 13.

81. John P. Norton, "The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties," in [Albany] *Cult.*, VIII (n.s., 1851), 103-104.

82. "Agricultural Education," in *Western Agric.*, I (1851), 293, reprinted from *Boston Journal of Agriculture*.

83. Downing, *Rural Essays*, p. 103.

84. E. Harkness, to Peoria County Cattle Show, in *Prairie Farmer*, VI (1846), 154. Electricity was as new then as vitamins were in 1946.

85. Address to Ag. Societies of Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden counties, Oct., 1847, in Ag. Soc. of Mass. *Trans.* for 1847, p. 249.

86. A.B.M. in *Am. Farmer*, I (1819-20), 311.

87. *Solon Robinson*, I; see also "Agricultural Humbugs" in *So. Cult.*, XI (1853), 109; "Agricultural Crazes" in *Am. Econ. Review*, XVI (1926), 622-38.

88. Justus Liebig, *Familiar Letters on Chemistry*, and its relation to Commerce, Physiology, and Agriculture, ed. by John Gardner, M.D. (New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1843), p. 118.

89. Morton, [Albany] *Cult.*, VIII (n.s., 1850-51), 104.

90. F. Holbrook, in *ibid.*, p. 65.

91. Daniel Lee, Pat. Office *Report* for 1852 (pub. 1853), p. 9.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. Gilbert Tucker, *Historical Sketch of American Agricultural Periodicals* (Albany, N.Y., privately printed, 1909), pp. 75-76.

2. Robert Russell, *North America, Its Agriculture and Climate, etc.* (Edinburgh, Adam and Charles Black, 1857), p. 23.

3. Pat. Office Agric. Report for 1852 (pub. 1853), p. 20.

4. See *Am. Agriculturist*, *Prairie Farmer*, *Working Farmer*, *Ohio Cultivator*, etc. Two dollars was too high according to the editor-author of the Pat. Office Ag. Report, for 1852, p. 22.

5. Russell, *North America*, p. 23.

6. J. A. Wight, ed. of *Prairie Farmer*, in Ill. State Ag. Soc. Trans., I (for 1853-54), 263.

7. *Wisconsin Farmer*, VIII (1858), 459.

8. *Prairie Farmer*, XIV (1854), 7.

9. *Country Gentleman*, IV (Jan.-June, 1860), index.

10. *Genesee Farmer*, XXI (1860), index.

11. See Hudson Tuttle, "An Essay on the Uses of Agricultural Periodicals," in O. State Bd. of Ag. Report, XIII (for 1858; pub. 1859), 268.

12. U.S. Patent Office Agric. Report, for 1852, p. 15.

13. *So. Cult.*, XI (1853), 72.

14. For interesting arguments growing out of this situation see *N. Eng. Farmer*, XI (1859), 367; Alzirius Brown, p. 371; "Honesty," p. 391; account of mowing contest, pp. 459-460—praising their own machine.

15. *Am. Agric.*, XIX (1860), April, June issues.

16. *ibid.*, XVII (1858), 32, 64, etc.; the same given in German, p. 192.

17. *ibid.*, XVIII (1859), 320; cf. XVII (1858), 40.

18. *Ohio Valley Farmer*, I (1856), *passim*.

19. *Ohio Cultivator*, XIII (1857), 121.

20. *Southern Planter*, issue of March, 1859.

21. Wells, *Yearbook of Agriculture* for 1855-56, p. 6.

22. Daniel Lee, in Pat. Off. Ag. Report for 1852, p. 20.

23. J.R. in *N. Eng. Farmer*, XI (1859), 329.

24. Hartlib, *Legacie*, p. 174.

25. Ill. State Ag. Soc. Trans., I (for 1853-54), 12-22,

gives a good account of "State Agricultural Associations" by B. P. Johnson.

26. New York Daily *Tribune*, May 8, 1852, p. 4, col. 5.
27. U.S. Pat. Off. *Agric. Report* for 1858, p. 91.
28. *ibid.*, p. 91.
29. "O.P.D." in *Wisconsin Farmer*, VIII (1856), 158.
30. N.Y. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, XIX (1859; pub. 1860), 543. Cf. *Wis. Farmer*, VIII (1856), 296, 158; Maine Bd. of Ag. *Report*, IV (1859), 50; Ohio St. Bd. of Ag. 7th *Report* (1852; pub. 1853), p. 696; *West. Agric.*, I (1851), 12.
31. Ill. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, I (for 1853-54), 37.
32. Wis. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, II (1852), 20-21.
33. *Coun. Gent.*, XVI (July-Dec., 1860), 21 reprint, "Bridgeton, N.J., *Chronicle*."
34. U.S. Pat. Off. *Ag. Report*, for 1858, pp. 133, 155, 160, 162, 172, 180-6, etc.
35. *ibid.*, pp. 102, 107, 112, 118, 120, etc.
36. *ibid.*, pp. 124, 137, 190, 193, 201.
37. N.Y. State Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, XIII (1853), 46; cf. XIX (1859), 672.
38. U.S. Pat. Off. *Ag. Report*, for 1852, 94.
39. *ibid.*, pp. 202-203.
40. *ibid.*, pp. 202-203.
41. *ibid.*, p. 169; cf. p. 123.
42. *ibid.*, p. 297. Cf. Grafton Co., N.H., in *ibid.*, p. 160.
43. *ibid.*, p. 178.
44. *ibid.*, p. 211.
45. *ibid.*, p. 172.
46. *ibid.*, p. 192. Cf. Putnam Co., N.Y., 187.
47. *ibid.*, p. 97.
48. *ibid.*, pp. 98, 132-3, 140, 212; also, pp. 101, 105, 135, 152, 170, 175.
49. "J.J." in *Coun. Gent.*, XIII (July-Dec., 1858), 193.
50. U.S. Pat. Off. *Report* for 1858, 151. Cf. pp. 110, 147, 179, 129, 130, 157.
51. O. St. Bd. of Ag. *Report*, XIII (1858), 176-177.

52. *American Agriculturist*, XVI (1857), 247.
53. *ibid.*, p. 20.
54. See above, pp. 42-43; 82.
55. U.S. Pat. Off. Agric. *Report*, for 1858, pp. 118, 123, 178, 183.
56. *ibid.*, pp. 121, 123, 127, 183.
57. *ibid.*, p. 175.
58. *ibid.*, pp. 130, 176, 189, 114, 121.
59. *N. Eng. Farmer*, XII (n.s., 1860), 540. Cf. *Cincinnati*, I (1856), 10.
60. N.Y. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, XIX (for 1859), 545-547.
61. Nathaniel H. Eggleston, *Villages and Village Life*, With Hints for Their Improvement (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1878), p. 317.
62. See above, pp. 39-40. According to the report of delegates sent around to visit county societies in Massachusetts in 1861, the parent Berkshire society continued to serve these good purposes. Mass. Bd. of Ag. *Report*, IX (for 1861; pub. 1862), 247.
63. Not all of these smaller units were included in the 900 total organizations reported (See above, p. 143). New York was credited with only 79, but the state society reported 60 district and town as well as 60 county organizations. U.S. Pat. Off. Ag. *Report* for 1858, p. 164; also, p. 90.
64. *Farmers' Comp. & Hort. Gaz.*, III (1854), 107.
65. The Shenango Farmers' Club, Mercer Co., Pa., however, mentioned holding only semi-annual meetings, both fairs. Edinburgh, Portage Co., Ohio, did the same. The Aquidneck Ag. Society, Newport, R.I., held weekly meetings, yet owned a ten-acre fair ground. U.S. Pat. Of. Ag. *Report*, 1858, pp. 195, 201.
66. *ibid.*, pp. 139-141.
67. *ibid.*, p. 206.
68. *Coun. Gent.*, XV (Jan.-June, 1860), 227; *Wis. Farmer*, VIII (1856), 109; IX (1857), 404; U.S. Pat. Of. Ag. *Report*, 1858, pp. 186-7, 146, 141, etc.

69. N.Y. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, XIX (1859), 562-3; *O. Cult.*, XIV (1858), 89; *Coun. Gent.*, XIII (Jan.-June, 1859), 67; *Wis. Farmer*, X (1858), 270; U.S. Pat. Of. *Ag. Report*, 1858, pp. 94, 103, 116, 141, 165, 170.

70. *ibid.*, pp. 133, 153, 168, 170. One held two fairs a year—one in the spring for sales in addition to the one in the fall; *ibid.*, p. 167. Cf. *ibid.*, 186-187.

71. *Coun. Gent.*, XV (Jan.-June, 1860), 227. Emphasis on "the living word" is one of the principles of the Danish Folk School.

72. DeBow, *Indus. Resources* of S. and W. States, I (1852), 75. R. Morris Copeland, *Country Life* (Boston, John P. Jewett, 1859), 381; *So. Cult.* XI (1853), 360; cf. *Cincinnatus*, I (1856), 326-7; II (1857), 448.

73. "Social Intercourse among Farmers," *Am. Agric.*, XIV (1855), 200.

74. *Farmers' Comp. & Hort. Gaz.*, III (1854), 158; *Coun. Gent.*, XIV (July-Dec., 1859), 301; O. St. Bd. of *Ag. Report*, VI (for 1851), p. 295.

75. *Cincinnatus*, II (1857), 448.

76. *Farmers' Comp. & Hort. Gaz.*, II (1852), 9-10; cf. *Wis. Farmer*, X (1858), 186-8; O. St. Board of *Ag. Report*, VI (for 1851), 295; *N. Eng. Farmer*, IV (3d. ser., 1852), 263.

77. *Wis. Farmer*, VIII (1856), 109; *Am. Agric.*, XIV (1855), 200; N.Y. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, XIX (1859), 578; *Coun. Gent.*, XIII (Jan.-June, 1859), 67; *Cincinnatus*, I (1856), 326-7; U.S. Pat. Of. *Ag. Report*, for 1858, 133, 141, 146, 168, 171, etc.

78. One charged 25c initiation and 10 cents a month dues, *ibid.*, p. 97. One, 25c a year, or \$5.00 for a life membership. *ibid.*, p. 153; cf. 116. One club charged \$1.00 for a life membership; *Wis. Ag. Soc. Trans.*, I (1851), 107. One had no dues and no treasurer; *Farmers' Comp. & Hort. Gaz.*, III (1854), 195.

79. *Coun. Gent.*, XIV (July-Dec., 1859), 186, 301.

80. *ibid.*, p. 186; *Wis. Farmer*, X (1858), 186, 270.
81. The Concord [Mass.] Club mentioned a dinner meeting at a hotel. *N. Eng. Farmer*, IV (3d. ser., 1852), 263.
82. N.Y. St. Ag. Soc., *Trans.*, XIX (1859), 562-3; U.S. Pat. Of. Ag. *Report* for 1858, p. 178; cf. p. 116, 141, 168, 181, 201.
83. *ibid.*, pp. 133, 141, 142, 147, 168, 171, 195.
84. *Coun. Gent.*, XIV (July-Dec., 1859), 186.
85. *ibid.*, p. 301.
86. *Prairie Farmer*, VI (1846), 17.
87. U.S. Pat. Off. Ag. *Report* for 1858, pp. 94, 97, 116, 133, 201, etc.
88. Abingdon Hole-and-Corner Club limited theirs because they met once a month in members' homes—once a year in each home. *ibid.*, p. 209.
89. *ibid.*, *passim*. One in Ohio and three in Mass. claimed 100 or more; *ibid.*, pp. 184, 141; cf. *Coun. Gent.*, XII (Jan.-June, 1859), 67.
90. In New York State, they increased from 13 in 1855, N.Y. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, XV (1855; pub. 1856), 707, to 63 "Town and Union Agricultural Societies" in 1859; *ibid.*, XIX (1859; pub. 1860), 584-5.
91. *Coun. Gent.*, XV (Jan.-June, 1860), 224.
92. Copeland, *Country Life*, p. 381.
93. Solon Buck in his *Agrarian Crusade*, p. 1., speaks of the beginning of the Grange movement as growing out of Kelley's trip through the South to collect statistical information. Knowing about the farmers' clubs movement in the earlier decades puts this in proper perspective.
94. *Farmers' Comp. & Hort. Gaz.*, III (1854), 107.
95. Oliver H. Kelley, *Origin and Progress of the order of the Patrons of Husbandry in the United States: a History from 1866 to 1873* (Philadelphia, J. Wagenseller, 1875), p. 21.
96. *Ohio Cult.*, XIV (1858), 136; cf. account of Claridon, Ohio, group in O. St. Bd. of Ag. *Report*, VI (for 1851), 295; also XIV (1859), 190.

97. J. W. Colburn, *Coun. Gent.*, XXXIII (Jan.-June, 1869), 43; cf. *ibid.*, p. 123.
98. U.S. Pat. Of. Ag. *Report* for 1858, pp. 92, 213.
99. *ibid.*, pp. 90-91.
100. Ohio's total was given as 31,374. O. St. Bd. of Ag. *Report*, XV (for 1860), 92-93.
- New York State's part of the 89,647 was reported by 25 out of a total of 60 county societies, and 9 out of 60 farmers' clubs or township associations that were listed in 1859. N.Y. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, XIX (for 1859), 584-585.
- These figures are the basis for placing the estimate at 250,000, about three times the reported total as given in 1858.
101. *Western Agric.*, I (1851), 376-7, reprint credited to *Plough, Loom and Anvil*. Cf. W. H. Vickers, in *West. Agric.*, I (1851), 374-5.
102. Ohio St. Bd. of Ag. *Report*, VI (for 1851), 26, 34.
103. "Historical Sketch of the United States Agricultural Society," in U.S. Pat. Off. Agric. *Report* for 1859, pp. 22-30.
104. U.S. Pat. Off. *Report* for 1857, p. 24.
105. *ibid.*, p. 25.
106. The *Proceedings* of the Wayne County Agricultural Society at the first annual meeting at Wooster [Ohio], Oct. 6-10, 1850. With the address delivered by William Turner (Wooster, D. N. Sprague, 1850), p. 15.
107. U.S. Cong., Sen., No. 418 and No. 419, *Sen. Doc.*, 25th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Washington, Blair & Rives, 1838).
108. O. St. Bd. of Ag. *Report*, I (1846), 20.
109. U.S. Cong., Sen., *Misc. Doc.* No. 120, 30th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, Tippen & Streeper, 1848), p. 3.
110. New York (Daily) *Tribune*, May 8, 1852, p. 4, col. 4-6.
111. U.S. Cong., Senate, *Exec. Doc.* No. 1, 31st Cong., 2nd Sess. (Washington. Printed at Union Office, 1851), p. 10.
112. *Hort.*, IV (1849-50), 441.
113. For some of the resolutions see U.S. Cong., House, *Misc.* No. 2, 31st Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, Wm. M.

Belt, n.d.), p. 2. *ibid.*, No. 41 from Tenn. Legislature, dated Mar. 6, 1850.

114. U.S. Cong., House, Committee *Reports*, No. 407, 31st. Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, Wm. M. Belt, n.d.), pp. 1, 5.

115. U.S. Cong., Sen., *Misc.* No. 9 and No. 91, 32nd Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, A. Boyd Hamilton, 1852).

116. U.S. Pat. Off. *Ag. Report* for 1857, p. 25.

117. Wells, *Yearbook of Agriculture*, p. 20. Cf. *Working Farmer*, VII (1855-1856), 241-3.

118. *Am. Agriculturist*, XVII (1858), 6.

119. Wells, *Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1856, p. 20. This same reference called attention to the "highly practical and scientific" agricultural publication of C. M. Saxton & Co., of New York.

120. *Am. Agric.*, XVII (1858), 104; cf. pp. 40, 72.

121. *ibid.*, pp. 29, 16, 20.

122. *Working Farmer*, IV (1852), 15.

123. O. St. Bd. of *Ag. Report*, VII (for 1852), 31. Cf. "National Agricultural Convention" in Ohio [Daily] *State Journal*, July 1, 1852, p. 2.

124. *N. Eng. Farmer*, IV (n.s., 1852), 375.

125. *So. Cult.*, XI (1853), 108, quotation attributed to "the correspondent of the Germantown *Telegraph*."

126. *ibid.*, p. 207. For point of view, see *ibid.*, p. 273.

127. Wm. Lawrence, in O. St. Bd. of *Ag. Report*, V (for 1850; pub. 1851), 29.

128. *ibid.*, p. 33.

129. [Nashville] *Agric.*, V (1844), 35-38.

130. *ibid.*, VI (1845), 161.

131. *ibid.*, VI (1845), 123-4; 187.

132. *So. Cult.*, XI (1853), 210.

133. N.Y. State *Ag. Soc. Trans.*, XIII (1853), 19.

134. President Marshall P. Wilder in announcing the second annual meeting in 1854 stated that "among the objects of the Association" were the "increase and extension through-

out our country of a more cordial spirit of intercourse between the friends of Agriculture. . . ." In *Farmers' Comp. and Hort. Gaz.*, III (1854), 63.

135. U.S. Pat. Off. *Ag. Report* for 1859, p. 30.

136. *ibid.*, p. 29. Springfield, Mass., 1853; Springfield, Ohio, 1854; Boston, 1855; Philadelphia, 1856; Louisville, 1857; Richmond, Va., 1858; Chicago, 1859.

137. *Journal* of the U.S. Agric. Society for 1857, ed., B. P. Poore, Secretary (Washington, 1858), 272-273.

138. *Wis. Farmer*, X (1858), 439. Cf. *Am. Agric.*, XVIII (1858), 288; *Ohio Cultivator*, XIV (1858), 136, 291.

139. "Agricultural Statesmanship," *So. Cult.*, XVII (1859), 121.

140. *ibid.*, I (1833-34), 511.

141. In reprint of W. E. Channing, "Self Culture," in *Cult.*, VI (1839), 95.

142. Letter to editor Camak of *So. Cult.*, III (1845), 168.

143. By "Farmer" in *So. Cult.*, XVII (1859), 302. Another correspondent said, "The 'Spoils System,' that sirocco of the demagogue," *ibid.*, V, 140-1.

144. [Albany] *Cult.*, VII (n.s., 1850), 391, points out that Congress in same session taxed flaxseed and linseed at different rates (same item), "which ridiculous ignorance any unlettered farmer could have enlightened."

145. *So. Cult.* XI (1853), 207.

146. Ill. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, II (for 1855-56), 202.

147. J. B. Walker, in O. St. Bd. of *Ag. Report*, XI (for 1856), 330-331.

148. [Crèvecoeur] *Letters from an American Farmer*, 165.

149. Tenn. Ag. Bureau *Biennial Report* (for 1857-58), p. 113.

150. *ibid.*, for 1855-56, pp. 14-15, "The State Agricultural Bureau to the Farmers and Mechanics of Tennessee." While admitting that some lawyer-legislators had been "unworthy servants" of their agricultural constituency, John

Millikin insisted that there were good men in the legal profession, who were opposed to trickery and dishonesty. O. St. Bd. of Ag. *Report*, X (1855), 288, 295.

151. Editorial in *So. Cult.*, XVII (1859), 227-228.

152. *ibid.*, p. 158, letter signed "Randolph."

153. Cong. *Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., V., Part I, 718. Cf. Rep. Cobb, in U.S. Cong., House, Com. *Reports* No. 261 (Washington, James B. Stedman, 1858), p. 2.

154. Stirling, *Letters from the Slave States*, p. 320. Cf. pp. 45, 265.

155. Hinton R. Helper, *The Impending Crisis* (New York, Burdick Bros., 1857), p. 126.

156. Stirling, *op. cit.*, p. 320, found mercantile class hostile to slavery.

157. Ill. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, I (1853-54), 403.

158. *Hort.*, VII (1852), 311.

159. Jonathan B. Turner, "Industrial Universities," in E. J. James, *The Origin of the Land Grant Act of 1862* (the so-called Morrill Act) and some account of its author, J. B. Turner (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1910), pp. 52-55.

160. Turner, "Plan for Industrial Universities," in *Hort.*, VII (1852), 311.

161. *ibid.*, p. 311. Also in Ill. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, I (for 1853-54), 378.

162. In James, *Land Grant Act of 1862*, p. 55.

163. *ibid.*, p. 58.

164. Something of the practical ability of this farm-bred Yale graduate, who after 15 years teaching had retired to a farm on account of his health (True, *Hist. of Ag. Ed.*, p. 84), is indicated by his taking three premiums at the first Illinois State Fair, Ill. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, I (for 1853-54), 66-67; also by Kennicott's observation that the implements and machines used on his farm were "most of them of his own invention or improvement." *Hort.*, VII (1852), 374.

165. Ill. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, I (for 1853-54), 366-7.

166. *ibid.*, p. 372.

167. *Ohio Valley Farmer*, I (1856), 23.

168. U.S. Pat. Off. *Agric. Report* for 1851, p. 39.

169. Ill. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, I (for 1853-54), 372-3.

170. *ibid.*, p. 401.

171. *ibid.*, p. 371; cf. p. 5.

The rivalry and opposition of existing institutions may be understood. President Wayland of Brown University was quoted as saying that statistics of 6 New England Universities showed a gain of only 8 students in 20 years (1830-50). (Quoted in Johnston, *Notes on N. Am.*, II, 476-7.) Agricultural departments or tax-supported colleges would compete with existing institutions for both students and funds.

172. *Hort.*, VII (1852), 308.

173. U.S. Pat. Off. *Ag. Report* for 1851, p. 41. Despite A. C. True's contention that "the manual labor system was bound to fail because it had little educational value (True, *Hist. of Ag. Ed.*, p. 116), Berea College still provides labor for all its students and gives labor certificates to those who merit them. Many foreign educators come to Berea to study the workings of the system. Turner's principles seem meritorious to them.

174. Wilder, *Address*, pp. 23-24.

175. *Gen. Farmer*, XI (n.s., 1850), 13.

176. *ibid.*, p. 126; also, "Agricultural Education," in *Gen. Farmer*, XII (n.s., 1851), 201; Wm. Lawrence, in O. St. Bd. of *Ag. Report* for 1851, p. 352; Ill. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, I (for 1853-54), 27-28.

177. For the stimulus and inspiration Turner's address furnished see O. St. Bd. of *Ag. Report*, VIII (for 1853), 32; IX (1854), 19, 27; X (1855), 116, 183; XII (1857), 82-83; N.Y. St. Ag. Soc., *Trans.*, XIII (1853), 5; XIX (for 1859), 4, 35; Wis. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, IV (for 1854-57), 271; VI (for 1860), 256; Tenn. St. Ag. Bureau *Biennial Report*, (1855-56), pp. 76, 204; *Wis. Farmer*, VIII (1856), 181, 201, 447; IX (1857), 28; *Prairie Farmer*, XIII (1853), 326-7; *So. Cult.*, XVII (1859), 259; XI (1853), 307.

178. Stirling, *Letters from the Slave States*, 63-64.

179. Ill. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, I (for 1853-54), 54-60.

Of the 70 associations reported to the Patent Office in 1858 as having mechanics associated with agriculturists, 43 of the 47 for which dates were given were founded after 1852; (U.S. Pat. Off. *Report* for 1858, p. 91.). And 38 of them were in the South, but Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Virginia, and Maryland had 35 of the 70 "agricultural and mechanical" associations.

180. In *Hist. of Rock Co.* and *Rock Co. Ag. Soc. Trans.*, p. 251.

181. *ibid.*, pp. 250-254.

182. *O. Valley Farmer*, II (1857), 46.

183. Frederick L. Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, with remarks on their economy (New York, Dix & Edwards, 1856), p. 202.

184. Donald Q. Mitchell, "Agriculture as a Profession, or Hints on Farming," *New Englander*, XVIII (1860), 903.

185. *Wis. Farmer*, IX (1857), 103.

186. In O. St. Bd. of Ag. *Report*, X (1855), 109.

187. *Ohio Cult.*, VII (1851), 65, 97.

188. *Am. Agric.*, XIII (1858), 32, 64, 96, 128, 160, etc.

189. Andrew J. Poppleton, address at Oakland Co. Agricultural Fair, Sept. 20, 1852, quoted in [Detroit] *Farmers' Comp. & Hort. Gaz.*, I (1852), 95; cf. III (1854), 99.

190. In James, *Land Grant Act of 1862*, p. 103.

191. Thomas J. Pinkham, *Farming As It Is* (Boston, Bradley, Dayton, & Co., 1860), pp. 146-8. He attributed his lack of success in his first farming venture to his location away from markets, lack of good roads, and so forth. He picked his second location near Lowell, Massachusetts.

192. *N. Eng. Farmer*, XI (3d ser., 1859), 447.

193. *ibid.*, p. 562-4.

194. *ibid.*, XII (1860), 12, 15, 18, 22, 24, 34, 53, 64, 74, 86, 122, etc.

195. *ibid.*, p. 325-7, 333, 387, 406, 484.

196. Asa G. Sheldon, *ibid.*, p. 25. One affirmative reply began, "Some forty years ago . . ."; another, "Many years

ago, in a remote village, in a neighboring state . . ." *ibid.*, p. 353-4; 360.

197. Pinkham, *Farming as It Is*, p. 192. "O.W.T." also asked for the details of "A.B.'s" experiment. *N. Eng. Farmer*, XII (1860), 256.

198. *N. Eng. Farmer*, XII (3d. ser.; 1860), 187-8.

199. *ibid.*, XI (1859), 539.

200. *ibid.*, XII (1860), 18.

201. *ibid.*, p. 25.

202. *Farming As It Is*, p. 229.

203. *ibid.*, p. 304.

204. *ibid.*, pp. 235-6; 257; 304.

205. *ibid.*, p. 245.

206. *ibid.*, p. 346.

207. *ibid.*, p. 280.

208. *ibid.*, 321-2; 372-3; 182-3.

How far Pinkham was in advance of his day is shown by the comparison with Eben Newton, the first Commissioner of Agriculture, who in an address in 1862 said, "If the products were doubled, the farms would be worth double." Eben Newton, *Address* delivered before Highland Union Agricultural Association at its third annual fair, held at Garrettsville, Portage County, Ohio, Oct. 7, 8, 9, 1862 (Ravenna, Ohio, L. W. Hall, 1862), p. 3.

209. *Farming As It Is*, pp. 372-6; 321-2.

210. *ibid.*, pp. 182-3.

211. *ibid.*, p. 46.

212. *ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

213. *Coun. Gent.*, XV (Jan.-June, 1860), 267.

214. Donald G. Mitchell, *My Farm of Edgewood*, (New York, Scribners, 1863), p. 209. Cf. *Coun. Gent.*, XV (Jan.-June, 1860), 121.

215. In *N. Eng. Farmer*, XII (1860), 187.

216. *S. Cult.*, XI (1853), 188, reprint from Pickens [Alabama] *Republican*. Cf. *Cincinnatus*, III (1858), 532-3.

217. Dept. of Ag. *Report* for 1862, p. 455.

218. U.S. Pat. Off. Ag. Report for 1857, p. 415. *ibid.*, for 1852, p. 445.
219. "Farmer" in *S. Cult.*, XVII (1859), 302.
220. *Wis. Farmer*, III (1858), 451-3, reprint from DeBow's *Review. So. Planter*, XIX (1859), Feb. issue, p. 6, advertised Virginia farms for sale at \$10 to \$25 an acre.
221. *S. Cult.*, XI (1853), 327; *Am. Agric.* XVI (1857), 60; *Cincinnatus*, I (1856), 488; Copeland, *Country Life*, 747; U.S. Pat. Off. Ag. Report for 1852, pp. 8-9; *Gen. Farmer*, XI (2nd ser.; 1850), 132-3.
222. *Cincinnatus*, I (1856), 10.
223. U.S. Pat. Off. Ag. Report for 1852, pp. 8-9.
224. *Coun. Gent.*, XVIII (July-Dec., 1861), 338-339.
225. *ibid.*, XXXIV (July-Dec., 1869), 339.
226. *Wis. St. Ag. Soc. Trans.*, IV (1854-7), 103.
227. *ibid.*, III (1853), 127-8.
228. J. A. Wright, Address to Third Annual Meeting of Northwestern Fruit Growers' Association, Oct. 4, 1853, in *Ill. St. Ag. Soc. Trans.*, I (1853-54), 301.
229. *Coun. Gent.*, XIX (Jan.-June, 1862), 163.
230. Samuel Cheaver, in *N.Y. Ag. Soc. Trans.*, XV (1855), 105-6.
231. In Blake, *Modern Farmer*, pp. 181-2.
232. *Wis. Farmer*, IX (1857), 1.
233. Samuel I. Boardman in *Coun. Gent.*, XI (Jan.-June, 1858), 387.
234. *ibid.*, XII, 50.
235. "Random Thoughts on Rural Life," in *Hort.*, V (1850), 109.
236. L. A. Hine, "The Small Farm System," in *O. Valley Farmer*, VI (1861), 78. *Ohio Cult.*, XIII (1857), 146-7.
237. From the *Horticulturist*, in Downing, *Rural Essays*, pp. 399-400.
238. *ibid.*, pp. 399-400.
239. See U.S. Pat. Off. Ag. Report for 1859, pp. 412-3; Mitchell, *My Farm of Edgewood*, p. 91; *Am. Agric.*, XVI (1857), 60; *Atlantic Monthly*, II (1858), 336-7; O. St. Bd. of

- Ag. Report, X (1855), 93; *Coun. Gent.* (Jan.-June, 1859), 306; *Wis. St. Ag. Soc. Trans.*, IV (1854-7), 128; *etc.*
240. *O. Valley Farmer*, V (1860), 5.
241. "C.G.M." in *Wis. Farmer*, IX (1857), 188.
242. *Wis. & Iowa Farmer and Northwestern Cultivator*, VI (1854), 49.
243. Jared P. Kirtland, *Ill. St. Ag. Soc. Trans.*, I (1853-4), 457.
244. *Coun. Gent.*, XII (July-Dec., 1858), 67; *Ohio Cult.*, XIV (1858), 206.
245. W. W. Hall, "Health of Farm Families," U.S. Dept. of Ag. Report for 1862 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1863), 467.
246. See above, p. 19.
247. In *O. Valley Farmer*, I (1856), 105, credited to Housewife Department of *New Jersey Farmer*. Cf. John Kennicott, in *O. St. Bd. of Ag. Report*, X (for 1855), 111-112.
248. *O. Valley Farmer*, II (1857), 117.
249. *O. Cultivator*, XIV (1858), 285-6.
250. *N. Eng. Farmer*, XII (n.s., 1860), 515.
251. *O. Valley Farmer*, II (1857), 172, reprint from *N. Eng. Farmer*.
252. *Coun. Gent.*, XII (July-Dec., 1858), 99.
253. *O. Valley Farmer*, I (1856), 105-6.
254. *Poems Teachers Ask For* (F. A. Owen Pub. Co., Danville, N.Y.).
255. *Ohio Valley Farmer*, II (1857), 117.
256. *Coun. Gent.*, XII (July-Dec., 1859), 83. Cf. *O. Valley Farmer*, II (1857), 70; *Atlantic Monthly*, II (1858), 335-6.
257. Hall, in U.S. Dept. of Ag. Report for 1862, p. 469.
258. *Coun. Gent.*, XII (July-Dec., 1859), 162. Cf. p. 211.
259. *Atlantic Monthly*, II (1858), 338.
260. Hall, *op. cit.*, 462, 465.
261. *So. Cult.*, XVII (1859), 45.
262. *O. Valley Farmer*, II (1857), 70.

263. *Am. Agric.*, XIX (1860), 240.
264. Stirling, *Letters from the Slave States*, p. 35.
265. *Cincinnatus*, I (1856), 981-3.
266. XV (Jan.-June, 1861), 243.
267. *Farmer's Comp. & Hort. Gaz.*, III (1854), 130.
268. John P. LaCroix, in *O. Valley Farmer*, I (1856), 78.
269. In O. St. Bd. of Ag. *Report*, VIII (1854), 265.
270. *N. Eng. Farmer*, XI (1859), 552.
271. "Thanksgiving Day Discourse," quoted in *Hort.*, II (1847-8), 377.
272. Ill. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, II (for 1855-56), 243.
273. "Farm Life in New England," in *Atlantic Monthly*, II (1858), 341. Cf. *Wis. Farmer*, III (1856), 372.
274. William Tracy in N.Y. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, XIII (1853), 523. Cf. Ill. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, II (for 1855-56), 200.
275. Luther Smith and Norton S. Townshend, in O. St. Bd. of Ag. *Report*, XIII (1858), 11.
276. *Coun. Gent.*, XI (Jan.-June, 1858), 290.
277. In *Coun. Gent.*, XVIII (July-Dec., 1861), 178. Cf. *Wis. Farmer*, IX (1857), "The World is Worthy of Better Men," 2.
278. N.Y. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, XIX (1859), 692.
279. For similar ideas and ideals, see [Detroit] *Farmer's Comp. & Hort. Gaz.*, I (1852), "A Mother's Influence," 14; *Wis. Farmer*, III (1858), "The Home," 33; Blake, *Farm and Fireside*, p. 321.
280. C. D. Bragdon in Ill. St. Ag. Soc. *Trans.*, II (1855-56), 237.
281. Henry F. Durant, *N. Eng. Farmer*, XI (3d. ser.; 1859), 552.
282. Martineau, *Society in America*, I, 185.
283. See Francis D. Gage, in *O. Cult.*, XIV (1859), 254.
284. U.S. Census Prelim. *Report* for 1860, pp. 213, 131.
285. Bailey, *Country Life Movement*, p. 7.
286. First Coun. Life Association *Proceedings* (1919), p. 26.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. See above, p. 143.
2. *Cyclop. of Ag.*, IV, 292, based on U.S. Dep. of Ag. Report for 1868.
3. True, *Hist. of Ag. Extension Work*, p. 30.
4. See above, p. 151.
5. *Coun. Gent.*, XXXVI (1871), 489, 504, 524.
6. "Cadet, Champaign, Ill.," in *Coun. Gent.*, XL (1875), 558.
7. *Coun. Gent.*, XXVI (July-Dec., 1865), 187.
8. *ibid.*, p. 187, credited to *Boston Advertiser*.
9. *Coun. Gent.*, XXXV (1870), 661.
10. *ibid.*, XXXIX (1874), 590.
11. *ibid.*, LIX (1894), 746.
12. True, *Hist. of Ag. Extension Work*, p. 132.
13. See above, pp. 147-149.
14. *Coun. Gent.*, XXVI (July-Dec., 1865), 332, 336; XXXV (1870), 70, 163, 421; XXXVI (1871), 73; XXXIX (1874), 254; XL (1875), 110; LII (1887), 536.
15. Butterfield in *Cyclop. of Ag.*, IV, 295.
16. *Coun. Gent.*, LIX (1894), 692.
17. *ibid.*, XXXVIII (1873), 804.
18. *ibid.*, LIX (1894), 746.
19. *ibid.*, XLIV (1879), 94.
20. *ibid.*, LIX (1894), 746.
21. Edward W. Martin, *History of the Grangers' Movement: or the Farmers' War Against Monopolies* (Philadelphia, National Publishing Co., 1873), p. 411.
22. *Coun. Gent.*, XXXVIII (1873), 484.
23. *Cyclop. of Agric.*, IV, 297.
24. *D.A.B.*
25. See above, p. 150.
26. *D.A.B.*
27. Kelley, *Patrons of Husbandry*, *passim*.
28. *ibid.*, p. 422.
29. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

30. Kelley, *op. cit.*, p. 422.
31. M.W.C. in *Coun. Gent.*, XXXVI (1871), 803.
32. *D.A.B.*
33. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 421, quoting Kelley's letter. William E. Simonds of South Carolina is quoted, *ibid.*, pp. 429-430, as saying of the Grange: "They prevent cruelty to animals, nurse the sick, assist the poor, instruct the youth . . . and aim at elevating all classes, both socially and morally."
34. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 421. Farmers protested against opening the membership to city merchants, *etc. ibid.*, p. 448.
35. S.T.K. Prime, Livingstone Co., Ill., in *Coun. Gent.*, XXXVIII (1873), 532.
36. True, *Hist. of Ag. Ed.*, p. 124, says Grange membership totaled a million.
37. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 425.
38. *D.A.B.*
39. *Songs of the Grange* (Philadelphia, J. Wagenseller, 1894), pp. 24-25; 78-79.
40. *Coun. Gent.*, XXXVIII (1873), 572. Cf. XL (1875), 510; LIX (1894), 710.
41. See account in *Cyclop. of Ag.*, IV, 294-6.
42. U.S. Dept. of Ag. *Yearbook* for 1940, p. 260; True, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
43. *Songs of the Grange*, pp. 3-4.
44. Quoted in Jennie Buell, *One Woman's Work for Farm Women*, the story of Mary A. Mayo's part in rural social movements (2nd printing, Whitcomb & Barrows, Boston, 1912), p. 16.
45. *Songs of the Grange*, pp. 44-45.
46. Sarah E. Wilcox, in *Coun. Gent.*, LX (1895), 216.
47. Jennie Buell, *One Woman's Work for Farm Women*, p. 20. Cf. Martin, *Hist. of Grangers' Movt.*, pp. 454-8, "Social Aspects of the Grange."
48. A. C. True, *Hist. of Ag. Extension Work*, pp. 5-14. State departments of agriculture, under one name or another, were set up in 8 states in the 1870's and in 8 more in the 1880's. *Cyclop. of Ag.*, IV, 329.

49. *Coun. Gent.*, XLIV (1879), 292; LI (1886), 165.
50. U.S. Dept. of Ag. *Yearbook* for 1891, p. 72.
51. W. I. Chamberlain, Columbus, O., in *Coun. Gent.*, LI (1886), 224.
52. E. A. Ross, *The Old World and the New* (New York, The Century Co., 1914), p. 76.
53. Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America*, p. 272.
54. U.S. Dept. of Ag. *Yearbook* for 1899, p. 127.
55. A. C. True, *Hist. of Ag. Extension Work*, pp. 32-52.
56. *ibid.*, p. 33.
57. *ibid.*, p. 32.
58. American Agricultural Association *Journal*, I (1879; pub. in Washington, 1880), 6.
59. U.S. Dept. of Ag. *Yearbook* for 1891, pp. 69-70.
60. *Cyclop. of Ag.*, IV, 341-353.
61. *Yearbook* for 1891, p. 73.
62. See above, p. 141.
63. *Cyclop. of Ag.*, IV, 80-87.
64. Russell Lord, *Book of Rural Life* (8 vols., Chicago, 1923), V, 2999.
65. U.S. Dept. of Ag. *Report* for 1886, p. 428.
66. Charles Dudley Warner, "Aspects of American Life," in *Atlantic Monthly*, XLIII (1879), 2.
67. See above, p. 40.
68. Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
69. *Coun. Gent.*, XXIX (Jan.-June, 1867), 227.
70. *ibid.*, XXXV (1870), 203; cf. XXXI (Jan.-June, 1868), 231.
71. Calvin D. Wilson, in *ibid.*, LIX (1894), 494.
72. *Coun. Gent.*, XXXV (1870), 92.
73. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LXXVIII (1889), 944.
74. J. Sterling Morton, U.S. Dept. of Ag. *Report* for 1895, p. 61.
75. George E. Waring, *Atlantic Monthly*, XXXIX (Jan.-June, 1877), 586.
76. F. P. Root, *Coun. Gent.*, LVIII (1893), 364.

77. *ibid.*, XXXIV (July-Dec., 1869), 442.
78. *ibid.*, LI (1886), 450.
79. *ibid.*, LII (1887), 408.
80. *ibid.*, LII (1887), 116.
81. *ibid.*, XXXIV (July-Dec., 1869), 351; LIX (1894), 224.
82. D.S.B. in *Coun. Gent.*, XXXV (1870), 798. Cf. XXXVIII (1873), 436.
83. James M. Williams, *The Expansion of Rural Life* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), p. 28.
84. Charles D. Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
85. Eggleston, *Villages and Village Life*, pp. 312-314.
86. Dudley W. Adams, Address delivered before the Granges of Muscatine and Union counties, Iowa, October, 1872, reproduced in Martin, *Hist. of Grangers' Movement* (pp. 516-531), p. 524.
87. *Coun. Gent.*, XXVI (July-Dec., 1865), 233; XXXV (1870), 315; XL (1875), 510; LI (1886), 587; LII (1887), 17.
88. *ibid.*, LI (1886), 578.
89. *ibid.*, XXIX (Jan.-June, 1867), 306.
90. *ibid.*, XLIV (1879), 62, "Farmer's Wife." Cf. LVIII (1893), 376.
91. *ibid.*, XXXVI (1871), 494.
92. S. O. Johnson, in *ibid.*, LI (1886), 781.
93. Lizzie de Armond, *ibid.*, LIX (1894), 747.
94. *ibid.*, XL (1875), 654; XLI (1876), 78.
95. *ibid.*, XLI (1876), 654.
96. *ibid.*, XL (1875), 30; LI (1886), 417.
97. *ibid.*, p. 543.
98. Reprint attributed to *Ladies Home Journal*, in *Coun. Gent.*, LVIII (1893), 376.
99. Daniel Wise in *Ladies Repository*, XXIX (1869), 212.
100. D. H. R. Goodale, *Coun. Gent.*, LII (1887), 916.
101. "G., Elmira, N.Y.," *ibid.*, XL (1875), 574.
102. Eggleston, *Villages and Village Life*, pp. 314-316.
103. Waldo F. Brown, in *Coun. Gent.*, LI (1886), 632.

104. Hortense Dudley, *ibid.*, LVIII (1893), 37; also, see *ibid.*, XXXIX (1874), 267; XLIV (1879), 78.
105. "G." in *Coun. Gent.*, XXXIX (1874), 267.
106. Dudley W. Adams, Address, in Martin, *Hist. of Grangers' Movt.*, pp. 521-522.
107. *ibid.*, 530-531. Martin's biographical sketch of Adams states that he did some schoolteaching in New England before going West. At 22 he was made president of the Allamakee County Agricultural Society (about 1850). From 1868 to 1872 he was secretary of the Iowa State Horticultural Society. Horticulture was his special interest, which suggests the writings of Andrew J. Downing as a source of his ideals.
108. Lord James Bryce, *Social Institutions of the United States*, an authorized reprint from the *Commonwealth* (New York, Chautauqua Press, 1891), p. 284.
109. Wilbur Aldrich, *Coun. Gent.*, LVIII (1893), 869.
110. Eggleston, *Villages and Village Life*, p. 36.
111. Edward A. Freeman, *Some Impressions of the United States* (London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1883), pp. 225-6.
112. J. G. Holland, *Lessons in Life* (New York, Scribner, 1885), pp. 308-9.
113. John M. Stahl, *Coun. Gent.*, LII (1887), 308, 328.
114. *Coun. Gent.*, XXXIV (July-Dec., 1869), 222, 462; XXXVIII (1873), 398; XL (1875), 478; Eggleston, *Villages and Village Life*, 41-42; Waring, *loc. cit.*, p. 588.
115. *Public Opinion*, XVIII (Jan-June, 1895), 59 (New York Press).
116. *Coun. Gent.*, XXXV (1870), 570.
117. *ibid.*, LII (1887), 308.
118. Waring in *Atlantic Monthly*, XXXIX (Jan.-June, 1877), 591.
119. T.S.H. in *Coun. Gent.*, XXXI (Jan.-June, 1868), 191.
120. Mary N. Prescott, "Rural Life," in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, XXXVII (1868), 810
121. *Coun. Gent.*, XXXIII (1869), 372.

122. *ibid.*, XXXIX (1874), 824.
123. *ibid.*, XXXV (1870) 430.
124. *ibid.*, XXXIV (July-Dec., 1869), 502.
125. *ibid.*, XXXIII (Jan.-June, 1869), 282.
126. *ibid.*, p. 142.
127. *ibid.*, XLI (1876), 734.
128. *ibid.*, XXXIII (Jan.-June, 1869), 162.
129. Charles D. Warner, "Comments on Kentucky," in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, LXXVIII (July-Dec., 1889), 262-263.
130. Edward B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, (2 vols., Boston and New York, Houghton and Mifflin, 1909), I, 581.
131. Edward A. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, p. 54. Cf. Wittke, *We Who Built America*, pp. 211-216. Dr. Wittke points out the special contributions made to Christmas celebrations by German music.
132. Of course, all this was made possible by the thrift and industry that enabled Grandfather and Grandmother to help each of their 7 older children buy farms near-by when they married. The community church stood on one corner of the old farmstead, and the one-room school on another corner.
133. Andrew A. Stomberg, "Pioneers of the Northwest," in *Swedes in America, 1638-1938*, ed. by Adolph B. Benson and Naboth Hedin (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938), pp. 92-106.
134. *Pub. Opinion*, X (Oct., 1890-Mar., 1891), p. 421.
135. *Pub. Opinion*, XVIII (Oct., 1894-Mar., 1895), p. 109.
136. *Am. Agric. Assoc. Journal*, I (1879), 18-19.
137. *Dept. of Ag. Yearbook* for 1896, pp. 1, xlv.
138. See Kenyon L. Butterfield, "Significant Factors in Agricultural Education," in *Education Review*, XXI (1901), 302.
139. *Coun. Gent.*, XXXV (1870), 36.
140. *ibid.*, XXIX (Jan.-June, 1867), 50.
141. *ibid.*, XXXV (1870), 11.

142. B.F.J., in *ibid.*, p. 108; also p. 11.
143. C. B. Morrow in *ibid.*, LI (1886), 849.
144. *ibid.*, p. 791. Bailey said lower entrance requirements had a bearing on social status of agricultural students. *Cyclop. of Ag.*, IV, 430.
145. Seaman A. Knapp, "The Study of Agriculture in the Secondary Schools," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, VI (1907), 136.
146. *Coun. Gent.*, XXXV (1870), 11; also Hiram Walker, *ibid.*, p. 36.
147. "Education of the Farmer," *Pub. Opin.*, XVIII (Oct., 1894-Mar., 1895), 321.
148. Clarence H. Robinson, *Agricultural Instruction in the Public High Schools of the United States* (New York City: Columbia Univ., 1911), p. 7.
149. Bailey, *Cyclop. of Ag.*, IV, 446-47. True, *Hist. of Ag. Ed.*, p. 212.
150. U.S. Dept. of Ag. *Yearbook* for 1898, p. xvii.
151. True, *Hist. of Ag. Ed.*, pp. 384-85; p. 275.
152. *ibid.*, p. 126.
153. Logan in *Pub. Opin.*, XVIII (Oct., 1894-Mar., 1895), 321.
154. Butterfield, in *Ed. Review*, XXI (1901), 301-2.
155. Henry J. Corbett, "Free Schools for Rural Pupils," in *School Review*, VIII (1900), 213-19; 335-63—especially 341-43, 351, 354.
156. *Cyclop. of Ag.*, IV, 297, 316; True, *Hist. of Ag. Ed.*, p. 125. Also see *Coun. Gent.*, LIX (1894), 692.
157. U.S. Dept. of Ag. *Yearbook* for 1940, p. 263.
158. *ibid.*, pp. 262-65.
159. *Cyclop. of Ag.*, IV, 314, 481.
160. *ibid.*, p. 314.
161. *Cyclop. of Ag.*, IV, 315.
162. True, *Hist. of Ag. Ed.*, pp. 336-38.
163. *ibid.*, p. 392.
164. Clarence Poe, "Remaking of a Rural Community," *Review of Reviews*, XXX (1904), 696.
165. True. *Hist. of Ag. Ed.*, p. 347.

- 166. U.S. Com. of Ed. *Report* for 1910, Pt. III, p. 1135.
- 167. True, *Hist. of Ag. Ed.*; pp. 393-94.
- 168. E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Planning for Rural Youth," in *Education for Democracy, Proceedings of the Nineteenth American Country Life Conference* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 147-48.
- 169. A.C. True, *History of Ag. Exten. Work*, p. 70.
- 170. *ibid.*, p. 100.
- 171. *Encyclopedia Brit.*, 14th ed., VIII, 48.
- 172. See above, p. 2.
- 173. *Rural America*, VIII (Nov., 1930), p. 2.
- 174. *Rural America* ceased publication in 1941; the American Country Life Association did not survive World War II.













301.15

K26s

C2

Struggle for equal opportunity main
301.15K26s C.2



3 1262 03303 4223

